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LIVES

OF

THE ENGLISH CARDINALS.

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LIVES

OF

THE ENGLISH CARDINALS;

INCLUDING

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF

THE PAPAL COURT,

FROM

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR (POPE ADRIAN IV.) TO THOMAS WOLSEY, CARDINAL LEGATE.

BY

FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "THE COURT AND TIMES OF JAMES I.," "THE COURT AND TIMES OF CHARLES I.," "MEMOIRS OF SOPHIA DOROTHEA," ETC. ETC.

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VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

WM. H. ALLEN & CO., 13, WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.

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Reading Room, Seat M. 14,

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PREFACE.

THE accumulation of secular employments in talented and enterprising churchmen gives the Lives of the Cardinals an unusually large element of historical interest. They flourished not only as spiritual princes, but as leading statesmen, distinguished diplomatists, dashing commanders, clever financiers, and pre-eminent judges. They took the lead in the field as well as in the cabinet; became envoys to the greatest potentates, composed treaties of peace, arranged confederacies for war; fulminated excommunication against refractory emperors or obstinate schismatics, and set examples of ecclesiastical enjoyment in installation feasts and ambassadorial entertainments. In short, on some of these dignitaries fortune seems to have heaped favours. Theirs is a career that united the advantages of all professions, insured the most prized distinctions in Church and State, and exercised an influence that could not be acquired in any position of worldly dignity.

Among more favoured nations, these Princes of the Church of Rome have contrived to fill the world with their fame. Ximenes, Richelieu,

Alberoni, Mazarin, Fleury, Dubois, &c. &c.; but though not possessing the immense advantage afforded by the active German, French, or Spanish interest in the Papacy, some of the English cardinals will be found to have established higher claims to remembrance. He who led the barons to Runnymede, and prepared for his countrymen the great charter, which became not the corner-stone only but the solid foundation of English liberty, ought to be dearer to the student than any number of brilliant foreign diplomatists and politicians. Several of his successors exemplified a similar patriotism in the promotion of national objects. Even in that peculiar skill and intelligence by which the magnificent prelates just named acquired their renown, there can be no difficulty in establishing a successful rivalry in our own countrymen raised to the same rank, two of whom enjoy the advantage of an imperishable monument in the poetry of Shakspeare.

As members of the Pope's privy council, those who remained with the court shared in the ever-varying risks, troubles, and responsibilities of the Papacy; in tracing their connection with which, it has been thought necessary to supply details of papal life as well as of papal administration; while, in showing the action of the pontifical system on the Anglican Church, it seemed equally essential to prove that the latter had a mission as well as a nationality.

It may be said that we are dwelling upon what appears to be a dropped title in the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England; but there can be little doubt of its early resumption. There has recently been a

creation of cardinals, and though some disappointment may have been caused by the omission of an eminent English name from those so honoured, the extraordinary claims of one of the most active of Roman Catholic prelates are not likely to be overlooked by so discriminating a pontiff as Pio Nono, as soon as the obstacle has been removed that has delayed his elevation. If there be any truth in the reports on this subject, one of the individuals promoted suggests who is to be the pope of the future; but the presentation of the golden rose to the queen of Spain has somewhat lessened the significance of that manifestation.

There is of course sound policy in endeavouring to conciliate the liberal and the legitimate monarchies of Europe when the papal temporalities are believed to be in no slight risk. Let us hope that as trustworthy a principle will be shown in the appointment of the next English cardinal, and that he will be guided by the same moderation that actuated the proceedings of the last. While it is of the utmost importance to the Christian world that the Church of Rome should be wisely governed everywhere, all sensible Englishmen must desire that its interests in this country be entrusted only to an administrator capable of winning his way to general confidence by the exercise of a kindly, an enlightened, and a generous spirit.

An attempt to fill an unoccupied niche in literature with so attractive a group of historical characters, it is anticipated, will not prove unacceptable to many readers. The best sources of information have been consulted, and are generally indicated

in the annotations; but there are works to which the author wishes to acknowledge a larger amount of obligation,—the invaluable series published under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls; in particular those modestly called calendars, containing numerous important historical documents deciphered from the originals *in extenso*, prefaced by their several editors with highly illustrative introductions. Justice could not be done to any English history or biography of the periods to which they refer, without their frequent assistance. The explorations of Messrs. Bergenroth, Rawdon Brown, Bruce, and Brewer, into the state papers of Spain, Venice, Mantua, and England, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, have furnished much interesting material for the second volume of these Lives, while they have greatly lessened the labour of its compilation.

The author has given precedence to the pontifical dignity; but the second in his series was in reality the first Englishman honoured by admission into the Sacred College—by a brief interval only.

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A Christian Martyr—Religion in the Catacombs at Rome—Apostolic Traditions—Title of Pope assumed by the Bishops of Rome—Gregory the Great—St. Augustine—Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons—The Roman Ritual—Development of the Papal System—The Successor of St. Peter—Rome the Metropolis of Christendom.

THERE was general excitement within and without the walls of the city; from all points crowds were proceeding, manifesting, as they passed along, signs of unusual interest. Yet to no victorious general had a triumph been decreed, nor was it a great festival. The multitude thronged the Flaminian Gate; they rushed like a torrent through the Porta Salaria and the Porta Nomentana. With equal eagerness the people issued from the Tiburtina, Prænestina, Latina, Appia, and other gates on that side the Tiber. On the summit of the Janiculum they were seen pushing through the Porta Aurelia; in short, along the whole line of the walls, every gate was like the mouth of a hive during a time of swarming.*

* W. A. Becker, "De Romæ veteris Muris atque Portis," 21. Lipsiæ, 1842.

The population of the entire city seemed to be astir. They flocked into the Via Flaminia, they wound round the Palatine Hill, they passed under the triumphal arches in the Campus Martius, and between the Forum Romanum and that of Julius Cæsar, and by the Forum Boarium—the tide swelled by the patricians who inhabited the residences in the aristocratic quarter. They poured along the Via Sacra, they blocked up the Vicus Jugarius, and the roguish shopkeepers of the Vicus Pascus swelled the tide of human life. Down came the stream along the Carinæ, on that portion of the Esquiline so familiar to the fashionables as the Oppius,* and along the Vicus Patricius in the valley between the Esquiline and Viminal hills, into the Subura. In addition, a dense mob pushed through the Argiletum.†

From the Fora of the Emperors, from the mansions on the Palatine, came horsemen and charioteers, the chief men of the State, bearing about them indisputable evidence of their rank, their wealth, and their power. And all were hurrying into the Amphitheatrum Flavianum, which lay in the valley between the Cælian, the Esquiline, and the Velia.‡

* Respecting the Carinæ, Dionysius is sufficient authority for its elevated position:—"Εστι δ' ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῷ φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύπριον ἐρχομένοις στενωπόν· ἔνθα οἵ τε βωμοὶ μένουσιν οἱ τότε ἱδρυθέντες, καὶ ξύλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πέταται δυσὶ τοῖς ἀντικρὺ ἀλλήλων τοίχοις ἐνηρμοσμένον, ὃ χίνεται τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, καλούμενον τῇ Ρωμαικῇ διαλέκτῳ Ξύλον ἀδελφῆς.—iii. 22.

† "Beschreibung der Stadt Rom."

‡ W. A. Becker, "Handbuch der Römischen Altherthümer,"

It appeared that there was to be an exhibition of unwonted attraction—the popular entertainment known as the Venatio, in which wild beasts, in extraordinary number and variety, were to appear —and the Romans turned out almost to a man, every one apparently qualified to wear the *toga virilis* having joined the crowd. As they proceeded onward, they talked excitedly of the great sights they had seen of this nature, including conflicts of athletæ and gladiatores; but seemed to prize most the achievements of the bestiarii, who entered into deadly conflict with the savage animals brought from the arid African deserts, or the interminable forests of Asia.

The reader must imagine *the Colosseum* filled from the podium* to the topmost seats of the colonnade set apart for females and *pullati* (the lower orders)— the equestrians and senators occupying the first fourteen rows of marble seats cushioned, of the first story, the equites distinguishable by the clavis angustus over the tunic—the equites splendidi sitting with the ambassadors in the first two or three rows: conspicuous above all was a prominent tribunal† for the presiding Cæsar.

This prodigious edifice covered five acres of ground, and was now thundering with the applause of 87,000 spectators.

There had been a grand sensational scene, in which a professional gladiator had maintained a desperate conflict with a ferocious hyena. It had

Leipzig, 1843, 1856. Bunsen, "Le Forum Romanum expliqué." Haenel, "Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik."

* The wall encircling the arena. † Cubiculum.

evidently given the greatest satisfaction to the Roman emperor and to the Roman people.

The enormous audience now appeared engaged in an interchange of notes, and the union of their multitudinous voices sounded like the roar of a tempest. Some were commenting on the past performance, some anticipating the coming one; and the connoisseurs, whether wearing the pallium or the toga, expressed their opinions with an earnestness that showed how much they delighted in such spectacles. Citizens and senators wore golden signet-rings, the magistrates and other officials being easily recognised by the greater size and number of such decorations; the tribunes of the plebs rivalling all in this display.

In his magnificent paludamentum and golden chlamys the emperor looked frowningly into the arena, as if anticipating the appearance of some object of particular aversion; and the augurs, headed by the Pontifex Maximus, reflected in their faces the imperial scowl. Even the countenances of the consuls, prætors, and quæstors wore an expression of stern displeasure.

It was rumoured that a conspiracy had been discovered, not only to overthrow the imperial authority, but to destroy the religion of the State. The deities that had been honoured from the foundation of the city had been denounced as impostors, their temples declared unworthy of human regard, and their rites idolatrous; nor had that most sacred of institutes, the vestal virgins, escaped denunciation. When the indignant worshippers demanded who were these audacious blasphemers,

they were assured that they were persons of no account whatever—a few obscure individuals, whom no patron would permit to be numbered among his clients—who skulked about in out-of-the-way places. Some said that they were Jews, others Greeks; a few believed they were Romans, who had been seduced into adopting a strange religion that had been brought from Judea. All agreed that they were a despicable set of wretches, whose outrages on the gods that had protected Rome, deserved death.

It became apparent that one of these alleged conspirators had been condemned to be torn to pieces in the arena, and that the moment of his fate was approaching. The tumult of voices gradually hushed into a calm, under the influence of a general desire to see what manner of man it was who had entertained the idea of waging war against the immortal gods, of overthrowing the omnipotent Cæsar, of destroying the priests, and of setting aside the magistrates and every kind of authority in the city. Eighty-seven thousand heads were bent forward in one direction, each pair of eyes glancing eagerly towards the compartment from which the wretched culprit and his savage executioner were expected to emerge.

A tremendous roar resounded through the vast amphitheatre, and a colossal lion bounded into the arena. Every neck was strained in the direction of the victim. Instead of some daring Titan, or stalwart imitator of the heroic Hercules, they gazed upon the slight figure of a youth in the attitude of prayer, apparently absorbed in devotion,

and seeing nothing of the eager, contemptuous population, impatient for a sight of his blood—hearing nothing of the swelling murmur of their disappointment, that rolled over the immense structure like the menace of an earthquake—knowing nothing of the scene in which he was the principal actor, and totally oblivious of the approach of the ravenous beast bounding towards his first meal since the preceding day. The plebs in the higher tiers * turned up their thumbs to signify that they desired no mercy for the condemned; the equestrians regarded the coming event with supreme indifference; the Imperator bent his head upon his hand, and looked scornfully and mercilessly down upon the scene.

"Habet!" shouted, shrieked, howled, yelled at least eighty thousand Roman citizens, till the volume of sound their familiar cry produced was like the bursting of an electric cloud immediately overhead: so overwhelming was it, that not even the dignitaries sitting nearest the emperor could hear the crushing of bones, as the fangs of the powerful animal met in the flesh of his unresisting victim.

A smile of derision passed over the features of the Cæsar as he threw himself back in the sella curulis; the high-priest looked contented, the magistrates satisfied, as the soul of the first Christian martyr in Rome fled to its divine source.

After the show was over, and the multitudinous

* Menianæ, of which there were three: the first for the equestrians, the second (popularia) for the better class of the populace, the third for the lowest class.

spectators had returned to their homes, the criminal's mutilated remains were sought after, and reverently carried to a place of interment among extensive excavations, in a remote part of the city. But the blood shed on that memorable day was taken into the soil as precious seed to bear fruit in due season. The Titans did not war against the gods with a tithe of the power, nor Hercules perform any feat in the least resembling the marvels effected by that contemptible conspirator, that despised "Christian." In a little while all that he had been accused of imagining was realized—the glorious Roman empire passed away like a dream, and the immortal gods vanished with it. It is true that Rome preserved a Pontifex Maximus, with a goodly retinue of priests and virgins; in what these differed from their pagan prototypes will be shown in the ensuing pages.

In the Catacombs at Rome are preserved the earliest pictorial records of Christianity, and they illustrate with marvellous force and suggestiveness the opening epoch of its history. To their dark recesses the first professors of the denounced religion fled as to a secure hiding-place, and there they improvised a chapel, in which their faith was expressed by prayers and thanksgivings. To exhortations to godly living, after certain imperishable models, were added the reading of such passages from the Evangelists and Apostles as were accessible to their preachers. On the walls of this primitive oratory, as well as over the sarcophagi of those for whom it was a sepulchre, some of the Christians made designs symbolic of their faith and practice:

among them the one most prominent is the figure of the Good Shepherd carrying on his shoulders a lamb or sheep.* The idea is of pagan origin, so also is the nimbus—in short, a large portion of symbolic representation; for the rude artist by whom these were repeated could have had no other models than such tombs and sepulchral urns as bore evidences of a classic taste.†

The Good Shepherd was the recognised emblem of the Divine founder of their religion; but as the community enlarged, it required a human director. He who, by his superior sanctity gained authority, as well as admiration, was invested with that character. His flock became a church, and he undertook its spiritual management in the capacity of presbyter.‡

In tracing the progress of the papal system, its most remarkable features are found to be a sacer-

* Bosio, "Roma Sotteranea," 351. Didron, "Icon. Christ.," tom. i. Griesinger, "Mysteries of the Vatican," i. 8.

† The religion, notwithstanding its Syriac derivation, was Greek, as well as the art. Its importers, leaders, writers, and language long remained so; and even when Latin Christianity became a distinct institution, much the larger portion of the old world accepted the Hellenic ritual and form of church government.

‡ We have no sufficient or trustworthy record of primitive Christianity out of the New Testament. Scarcely had the Divine founder fulfilled his mission than his exponents began to betray their human infirmities. The apostles differed, the fathers interpreted independently, and many who taught, abandoned inspiration for conjecture. We are almost in the dark as regards the Judaic-Greek-Roman culture of the germ; all we know is, that it flourished the more it was disturbed, and took root despite the most strenuous efforts to check its growth. A remarkable glimpse into this historic gloom may be found in a work of fiction known as the Clementina, the production of a Romanized Greek.—Schlieman, "Die Clementine."

dotal corporation, and the concentration of ecclesiastical power in a supreme head. The clergy now assumed to be a privileged caste, and the simple organization hitherto accepted was abolished. The pastoral connection between the bishop who superseded the presbyter, and the community over whose spiritual wants he presided, was symbolized by the crook or crosier he bore when officiating. Clerical offices multiplied; so also did clerical titles; so also did religious fraternities and sisterhoods. The rise of monastic establishments expanded the church organization, which soon possessed spiritual peers and commoners of several degrees: it only wanted a spiritual autocrat. The pretensions of Rome to be the metropolis of Christianity rested upon higher grounds than its being the source of the greatest empire known in the Western world. It was believed to have been consecrated for its purpose by the apostles Peter and John,* who laboured to establish a church among that portion of the Gentiles they had been taught to regard as the masters of Judea. It has ever been an article of the Roman Christian's faith that St. Peter was selected to be the head of the congregation which existed in the city at the period of his visit; moreover, that he appointed his successor, and thus

* Schweizer, "Das Evangelium Johannis nach seinem innern Werthe u. seiner Bedentung f. d. Leben Jesu." The visit of St. Peter to Rome rests on the authority of S. Jerome, who did not enter the city till three centuries after its assumed date. He became secretary to Pope Damasus, then engaged in laying the foundation of the papal system. The ministry of St. Paul is historical. See also Oxenham's "First Age of Christianity in the Church," an able translation of one of Dr. Döllinger's learned works.

established the "canonical succession" to which the Church of Rome lays claim. Both the two apostles are said to have suffered martyrdom here; and this honour—shared, too, as it has been by innumerable citizens of both sexes—has invested the soil, in the mind of all earnest professors of that faith, with unquestionable holiness.

For a time the bishop of Rome was content to be considered like other bishops;* but the associations connected with the seat of his authority suggested supremacy. Rome had been the mistress of the heathen, there did not seem insuperable difficulties to her exercising the same influence over the Christian, world. The idea of an interminable line of sacerdotal Cæsars ruling despotically the thoughts and feelings of man in every state in which Christianity was professed, inflamed the ambition of the Romish prelate. The pastoral crook was laid aside, and he ceased to be a shepherd of souls: the episcopal mitre was exchanged for a triple crown, and with the title of Pope the assumed successor of St. Peter became spiritual head of Italian Christians.

Machiavelli, in the early chapters of his "History of Florence," refers to the first development of the pontifical power in anything but flattering terms. The popes had a long struggle before they acquired a position as temporal princes, not unfrequently suffering death from emperors or kings to whom they were content to be subordinate. They appear

* Mosheim and, more recently, Neander have fully illustrated this first epoch of ecclesiastical history—their studious narratives must be familiar to every scholar.

to have adopted the policy of warriors rather than of shepherds, and, with the help of the barbarians who overran the Roman empire, kept the states of Italy in a chronic condition of rapine and bloodshed.*

Some idea of the progress making in the Church of Rome may be gathered from the reliable fact that, in the middle of the third century, the bishop † ruled over forty-six presbyters and seven deacons within the city; without, there appear to have been about seven dioceses in the neighbouring towns, and their administrators assembled for the discussion of ecclesiastical affairs in the great city. It seems that the synod so formed still retained the Greek equality of these prelates.

In Rome there had already been nineteen in succession, the last, Fabianus, having suffered martyrdom A.D. 249. His fate left the see vacant about a year and a half, till Cornelius accepted the dangerous honour. After three successors there was another martyrdom, Sixtus II., and another vacancy of about the same duration. Then five more popes were added to the list; and though the last, Marcellinus, concluded his rule in a natural way, there ensued a vacancy that lasted four years.

There was thus an acknowledged metropolitan; but not only did the bishops in the vicinity carry on

* It is curious to trace the various nationalities that helped to establish this religious metropolitanism. Civilized Africa and Asia having borne a willing hand in the work, it was left to be completed by the heathen hordes who were making a southern exodus in Europe.

† The title of Pope was assumed by Victor, A.D. 196.

their functions, but those of the Eastern division of the Christian Church—Byzantium, Carthage, Antioch, Ephesus, &c. &c.—were enlarging their sphere of influence. The see of Rome had again been twice filled, when a short interregnum occurred, followed by a long succession of occupants, carrying the stream of time to nearly the conclusion of the sixth century—a period of many vicissitudes, of fierce discussions and formidable rivalries, of alternations of gloom and sunshine, of trouble and prosperity, but of uninterrupted development.

The extra-mural bishops, who in their proximity secured an amount of consideration that was to give a vast increase of importance in due time, were largely increased, and the Pope of Rome became generally recognised as the Patriarch of the Western division of the Church. The seat of government of the emperors had been transferred to Constantinople, and Italy had sunk into a distant province of their empire.

We now arrive at a great epoch in the progress of the Papacy—the elevation to the Pontifical throne of Gregory I., known in history as Gregory the Great.* The discipline of an ascetic, added to

* When Pope Pelagius was carried off by a raging pestilence, clergy and laity united their suffrages to secure Gregory as his successor, and on his exhibiting a becoming reticence, insisted on his at once submitting to the proper ceremonial. Moreover, they would have him exert his sanctity to stay the fearful plague. He directed a compound procession starting from different points of the city in several distinct bodies—the regular clergy, the monks, the virgins, the matrons, the men, the children, and the poor—all chanting litanies in solemn and reverential state as they passed

the experience of an abbot, gave him a rigid sense of religious virtue totally independent of humanity. He had carried out the monastic system with unexampled severity; and all the severe lessons he had taught the monks of St. Andrew he had determined to teach the entire priesthood when he left that monastery to govern the Church. He invested the character of Pope with new attributes, and further enlarged and ennobled its vocation. In truth, he stands out from his predecessors in bold relief, as a prelate conscious of a mission as well as a dignity.

It was before his elevation that his attention was attracted by the beauty of some Anglo-Saxon children exhibited for sale as slaves in the Roman market. Whether he indulged on that occasion in the scholastic jokes attributed to him by the original narrator of the familiar anecdote, we are not quite certain; but there cannot be a question that the sight of these attractive little heathens suggested a great work to him, to which, when in a position of almost illimitable usefulness, he devoted all the energies of his mind.* The mission of St. Augustine was the result.

slowly along the principal thoroughfares. The intention was good, but the result showed the folly of bringing together multitudes during the visitation of a highly infectious malady. Eighty individuals in the different processions fell down and died.—Baronius, "Annali Ecclesiastici;" Anastasius, "Storia dei Pontefici."

* By the last quarter of the sixth century, Latin Christianity—imported by its Roman visitors and colonists, of whom the somewhat doubtful St. Alban may be regarded as one, and St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, another—must have had three

The mind of Gregory appears never to have travelled beyond a circumscribed limit; the element of monachism pervaded it. It had received but little support from scholarship, and knew nothing of the higher forms of philosophy; but he was a clever controversialist, and held in great authority as a theologian. It seems that something of the speculative talent, in modern times so much more largely drawn upon by Swedenborg, distinguished him. Probably some passages in the former's curious exposition of the book of Job,* suggested to the Swedish mystic his system of Scriptural interpretation. As a literary production there is little to be said in its favour, but it betrays the papal purpose of endeavouring to invest the more accessible truths of Scripture in a garb of mystery. Its immediate and prodigious popularity with Churchmen shows how acceptable the experiment was to them, among whom his virtuous life and rectitude of principle had already found enthusiastic admirers.

He declined the title of *Papa Universalis*, disclaiming higher authority than that of Pontiff in the Roman Church; but this limited government he proceeded to render honourable as a first step to its extension. Virtue, justice, truth, and piety, in a supreme degree, were its characteristics; so, while cautiously withdrawing from dependence on the

or four centuries of growth; and though the Saxons may have uprooted much of this, it flourished in the more remote districts. The British chronicles assert that three bishops from the island attended the council at Arles, A.D. 334, and that churches and monasteries were numerous in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

* "Magna Moralia."

tottering Eastern empire, he prepared the way for a more secure ecclesiastical domination in the West. He did his best, by the excellence of his conduct, to render the papal office respected, and the influence of his example invested the court of Rome with an honourable reputation throughout Europe. With Gregory all outward observances, all mere parade, all lip-professions, went for what they were worth: moreover, he repressed all arbitrary assumptions and manifestations of an unclerical spirit. Nevertheless, he was careful to consolidate his power, which he induced neighbouring nations to respect. Foreign prelates within the reach of his influence were made by conciliatory means to acknowledge their dependence; and thus, about the commencement of the eighth century, he contrived to lay a sure foundation for the imposing superstructure erected by his successors.

The Pope took his place among the recognised monarchs of the world; the next step was to establish a material kingdom, and gradually the small states nearest the city were secured and united into a government.*

Rome was thus established as the seat and centre of the orthodox religion. It was now attempted to render a visit from the faithful of even distant

* These possessions the enterprise of succeeding Pontiffs increased, and were known as "the Holy See." They were not administered as a diocese, but as a state, and were styled "the patrimony of St. Peter," though there would be much difficulty in proving a satisfactory conveyance from the apostle of any portion of the land.

countries an imperative necessity. The Roman churches were hallowed as the resting-places of the early martyrs; but while the resources of architecture, carving, and painting were largely drawn upon to increase their effect upon strangers, equal care was given to increase the impressiveness of the ritual. The officiating priests were arrayed in vestments remarkable for variety of colour and richness of material. The eye and the ear were regarded as the natural avenues to the soul; therefore, splendid buildings, richly decorated, were rendered more impressive by the addition of music in its grandest and most solemn form.

There were seven ecclesiastical districts in the city, having thirty parochial charges administered by sixty-six priests, one being chief or cardinal priest. Each district possessed a hospice, presided over by a deacon; one having the dignity of archdeacon. All had to do clerical duty daily. On special festivals the Pope went in state, on horseback, accompanied by bishops and clergy in their sacred vestments, from the Lateran Palace to the Basilica of St. Peter's, or other sacred structure of the first class, and addressed the rapt congregation from the pulpit, or assisted in the performance of divine worship with a combination of imposing accessories never before attempted. Citizens and strangers filled every church, gazing with as much astonishment as reverence on the edifying ceremonial, while thrilled by the dulcet modulations of the singing—a portion of the service to which Gregory had given a religious effectiveness music had never before afforded. The Gregorian chant enables us

to form an idea of the manner in which the choir was made to illustrate and enrich the service; but it is scarcely possible from that familiar composition to conceive the increased spirit of devotion it produced. The Pope was as manifest in this as the musician; and there can be little doubt that, as in everything connected with the institution under his guidance, he was affected by that presiding papal influence—a desire to glorify the Church. He strove to place it on a more elevated pedestal, and make a grander display of its form of worship. It thus began to assume the combined character of a spectacle and an entertainment. It was unquestionably attractive, and there is reason to believe that larger congregations and more frequent attendance satisfied the officiating priests that they were labouring to a good purpose.

Gregory looked for a higher fame than the credit to be acquired by the introduction of showy ceremonies. He knew that there was much in the Church it was in vain attempting to conceal under splendid vestments and magnificent processions. The stern abbot was not less severe with his backsliding monks than was the immaculate Pope with his dissolute priests. His correspondence displays the indefatigable reformer; counselling, reproving, and punishing wherever culpable error or flagitious crime made itself manifest. Unfortunately his own exemplary life in some quarters failed as a model; bishops, priests, and deacons took to evil courses in spite of it. The bishops of Naples, of Cagliari, of Salona, Sepontum, and Tarentum, a Roman archdeacon, as well as several presbyters

and other dignitaries, he visited with severe chastisement, but not more than their vices deserved. His wrath, however, kindled against the patriarch of Constantinople, who had assumed the title of Universal Bishop, and he denounced him as antichrist—a name subsequently applied to Popes.

Gregory the Great had his littlenesses, bred with him perhaps in the narrow walls of his cell. His pride was touched by the patriarch's assumption of superiority; and he betrayed a commonplace jealousy against a rival; but "the offending Adam" became more pitiful at the downfall of the emperor of the East, when there was no depth of sycophancy into which he did not plunge to secure an interest with his successor, the base and brutal Phocas, the murderer of Maurice and all his family. The Pontiff was spared a prolonged degradation of this kind, for in the second year of the reign of the successful adventurer, A.D. 604, he died.

We regard Gregory the Great as the founder of the Papacy in its modern sense. The institution owes almost everything to his fostering care, particularly its enlarged organization and ambitious views; and when we consider how nearly it was crushed by the Lombard irruption into Italy, how weak it was in the vicious predilections of many of its principal supporters, and how often menaced by formidable schisms, which he treated with consummate skill (as the Arian heresy of Spain), it must be admitted that he possessed merits as a Pope that dwarf many of his predecessors and successors. The respect paid to his memory by historians of an antagonistic creed is incontestable

evidence of his being considered by them in advance of his age.* There is one charge to which Gregory the Great laid himself open. His heart was exclusively papal; it had no sympathy with extraneous things, and was sternly set against the classic influence. It seems a contradiction that he should have made a compromise with Saxon heathenism, while against its Greek or Græco-Roman type, he waged a destructive war. It was again the monastic contraction of sentiment that made him jealous of ideal merit the Church had not produced, and could not rival. He became a senseless iconoclast, decapitating unrivalled statues, and defacing and dilapidating wherever the genius of an unchristian age remained unmistakeable.

This destruction displeased the Romans, who were justly proud of their ancient monuments, and at the decease of the Pope they evinced a disposition to retaliate on *his* monuments. They were only to be restrained by one of those pious frauds with which mediæval annals abound. A subordinate in his establishment, known as Peter the Deacon, made a public avowal that he had seen the Third Person of the Trinity in the form of a dove, in constant communication with his deceased patron. The superstitious multitude, assured of the divine inspiration of the obnoxious pontiff, restrained their indignation; but the mutilation of valuable works of art was one of the manifestations of the papal system the Roman people regarded as a grievance.

Sabinianus was a bad specimen of an Italian

* See Milman, "Latin Christianity;" Neander, "Geschichte der Christlichen Religion," &c.

priest, apparently meanly jealous of the fame of his predecessor, to whose memory he was bitterly hostile—a character that repeated itself to weariness in the papal succession. More than enough of legend had already swollen the current of ecclesiastical history; but henceforth it is not imagination only that will be found diluting the truth. Too many of the chroniclers of the Papacy seem intent on distinguishing themselves as partisans and opponents; therefore materials for a trustworthy narrative become more and more difficult of selection.*

In the biography of Sabinianus there occurs a legend which we shall meet again. He is said so to have disturbed the spirit of his predecessor by his malicious defamation, that the latter appeared three times to remonstrate; finding this ineffectual, he struck him a mortal blow on the head.

He was succeeded, after a long vacancy, by Boniface III., who recommended himself to the Italians by successfully supporting the supremacy of the Pope of Rome against the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Imperial Court at last acknowledged the superior claims of the "Successor of St. Peter." Henceforth all branches of the Church were content to regard the Eternal City as the metropolis of Christianity. Thus the successor of the humble fisherman of Galilee found himself in the proud

* Platina (Vite dei Romani Pontifici) enters into a specious defence of Gregory's vandalism, but is not quite successful. It is a monkish trait, like one or two other weaknesses to which we have referred, and must be accepted with those elements of a nobler nature that procured for him the affix Maximus.

position of spiritual sovereign of the universe—at least such were his pretensions, as confirmed by a synod held at Rome in the pontificate of Boniface.*

Having thus lightly sketched the development of what must be considered the trunk institution, we proceed to trace the growth of one of its most important branches. The tree spread like a banyan, throwing out roots that sunk deep into the soil. In due time each sapling rose and flourished in the various nations of the earth, they then united their shade, their shelter, and their verdure, till a catholic oasis was produced that appeared, to stretch over the entire habitable surface of the globe. Unfortunately evil influences were permitted to affect the sap, the foliage became blighted, some of the larger limbs fell off, and on lessening the distance that gives "enchantment to the view," the more alluring features of the landscape faded like a mirage.

* Milman, "Latin Christianity," fourth edition, ii. 311, appears to doubt both the imperial donation and the synodical sanction. The *temporal* source of this great concession is remarkable.—Anastasius, "Bib. in Vit. Bonifac. IV.;" Schrœkh, "Christliche Kirchengeschichte," xvii. 73 : Leipzig.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH.

Mission of St. Augustine—Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons—Establishment of an Anglican Hierarchy—Pelagius and his Schism—Wilfred—Benedict Biscope—Improvement in Church Architecture and the Church Service—Aldhelm and Malmesbury Abbey—Anglo-Saxon Prelates in Rome—Anglican Missionaries—Wilbrord, Bishop of Utrecht—Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz—Willibald, Bishop of Eichstadt—Willihad, Bishop of Bremen—Alcuin, Secretary to Charlemagne—Alfred at Rome—Peter's Pence—The Normans in Rome—The Pope's Secret Alliance with William, Duke of Normandy—Policy of Hildebrand—Invasion of England instigated by him—Pitiable state of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

GREGORY THE GREAT found able assistants; the most devoted he drew from the cloister. Such was Augustine, whom he despatched with a detachment of monks and choristers, and a grand array of ecclesiastical insignia, for the *re*-conversion of the island of Britain.* Though Saxon heathenism

* Giraldus Cambrensis is of opinion that Christianity came to England from Asia; it must not, however, be forgotten that the island was much visited by ships sailing from a portion of Africa, where a Church was early established. There cannot be a question that for a considerable period before the advent of Augustine, the Christian faith had taken root in England; and at the period of his visit there were among the Britons, in Wales and Scotland, native prelates, an ordained priesthood, and a ritual differing in essential features from the Roman. The abbot of Bangor explained to Augustine and his associates that an apostolic church

had driven the Anglican Church into Wales, as Bertha, the queen of Kent, was a Frankish Christian, it is possible that some Christian influence existed in this province. Here the Roman missionaries landed, and were received by Ethelbert and his people with much consideration; the large silver cross, the sacred pictures, the holy relics, the strange habits of their peaceful visitors, and, more than all, the swelling tones of the Gregorian chant, sung by them as they advanced, produced a profound effect. Conversion was easy and rapid.

The policy of the Papacy developed itself in the conciliatory adaptation of heathen temples and devotional usages to the new faith. In this, however, Gregory was following, not originating—it had been adopted in its earliest demonstrations of progress. How the Saxon was able to understand the arguments, as well as the service, of his new friends, in a language with which he was totally unacquainted, has not been stated; but there could be no difficulty in comprehending the familiar sacrifice and the devotional assemblage in his customary place of worship. The idols, to be sure, were banished, but the symbolic decorations, to him of far more awful import, that supplied their place, rendered him insensible to their loss.

The example of Kent acted upon the neighbouring kingdoms, which also became Christian by the same easy change. If we could imagine the converts

had existed in this part of the world without any subjection to the Father of Fathers, and, notwithstanding his mission from Pope Gregory, was likely to remain so. See also Twysden, "Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism," p. 7.

actuated by a conviction that they were preparing a new path to honour and influence for some of their posterity, the facility with which this important revolution was produced, might be accounted for. Little more than a century had elapsed since the Romans had abandoned their colony, and Latin Christianity had been established at all their stations. The Saxon gods had hardly become naturalized when, at the suggestion of what must have appeared to them an insignificant group of strangers, they were displaced. Their names were retained in the days of the week; * in other respects their places knew them no more; unless, while permitted their temples and sacrifices, the people were left to the delusion that in the Virgin Mary they were adoring their goddess Friga; in God the Father they were worshipping Thor; in God the Son, Woden; and that the rest of their divinities were still accessible to them under such new appellations as apostles, saints, and martyrs.

The letter of Gregory the Great to Augustine respecting the arrangements for the Anglican hierarchy has been preserved by Bede. The Pope states that he forwards the pall † for his important

*. And there remain—as every one knows. It is singular that the monkish writers retained in Latin not only the old succession of months, but that of the days—still more suggestive of Roman paganism.

† The *pallium* or *pall* was originally a portion of the sacred vestments used by prelates of the Church of Rome. It is stated at first to have been merely a strip of woollen cloth for the shoulders, that had lain on the tomb of St. Peter to give it peculiar sanctity —it subsequently became a rich habit, such as was said to have been presented by the emperor Constantine to the bishop of

services to the Church, and directs him to create twelve subordinate sees. He states that he will send investiture in the same form to the bishop of London and the archbishop of York; the latter is to have twelve suffragans, but to be subject to the see of Canterbury. The Pontiff also directs that at the demise of Augustine the archbishop of York is only to preside over his own bishops, but to be independent of the bishop of London; precedency to be regulated by priority of consecration. The Pope adds advice which experience in ecclesiastical government had rendered necessary, to the effect that harmony should be maintained amongst the prelates, to advance the interests of Christianity. Their subsequent disputes prove how completely such good counsel was thrown away.

When Gregory asked whence came the children whose personal appearance had excited his admiration, he was told from Deira. It was this northern province of Saxon-England that formed a portion of the second archbishopric he established there; but the Roman missionaries had by this time learned to distrust rapid conversions. The successors of Ethelbert and Bertha were pagans; their

Rome, by him to be transferred, by way of investiture, when conferring the higher ecclesiastical dignities. It was made imperative on metropolitans to receive this vestment before entering upon their duties, when they had to take an oath of allegiance to the Pontiff. In the majority of cases a journey to Italy was indispensable; and as influence at the papal court was only to be secured by a large outlay, much treasure was consequently kept flowing from England into Rome.—Harpsfield, "Hist. Eccles. Angl.," c. vi.; De la Marca, "De Concord. Sacer. et Imper.," lib. vi. c. 6.

subjects relapsed, and returned to idolatry: Essex followed the example of Kent, and in all the lately Christianized kingdoms, Thor, Woden, &c., were worshipped as before. It took some time, and much tact, to get quit of them; and as the delay permitted the missionaries to acquire the language of the people, these good men were better prepared for their work.

The heathens were only to be convinced by material advantages. Edwin, king of Northumberland, insisted on victory over his enemies as a condition. Paulinus, the new archbishop, promised; the Wessex forces were overthrown; still the king would not at once become a Christian. Paulinus was required to give other proofs of spiritual power. At last the king and court were prevailed on to accept baptism, and then a conversion commenced on a more solid basis. It was made clear to the understanding of the heathens that their idols were without power or qualification of any kind, and that there was something to be secured by embracing Christianity, which their mythology could not afford. The royal convert triumphed over all his enemies, and the fervour of the conqueror, as well as the devotion of his subjects, increased at each victory. In this way he raised himself to supreme sovereignty, and when he had no more kingdoms to conquer, established a wise and beneficent government for his subjects of every degree. Law and religion went hand in hand; every one not only travelled in security, but found at each convenient halting-place a fountain and cup placed for his refreshment.

Very pleasant was the prospect to the Roman

priest as well as to the Saxon Christian: the former might look for approval from the dispenser of ecclesiastical preferment; the latter saw before him a Via Sacra, which might lead to honours and emoluments unknown in his native country. Unhappily the brilliant prospect too quickly faded. The Christian king fell in battle against a more powerful enemy;* and it was feared that the *prestige* of the new religion had perished with him. A strong effort was made to save it; but it survived chiefly in the insular security of Iona and the sanctity of distant Lindisfarne. Thence came missionaries, and for the third time the conversion of the obstinate pagans was commenced.

A sanguinary battle, in which their most warlike king, Penda, shared the fate of Edwin, proved a complete overthrow to the heathen gods.† A Christian king, Oswin, had been the conqueror, and the victors and the vanquished rivalled each other in giving their testimony to the supremacy of the cross.

The missionaries from the northern monasteries were at work in one part of the island, while some sent from Rome were as busy proselytizing in another. It so chanced that they taught differently the time of keeping Easter. The former, like their brethren in Wales, adhered to the practice of the Oriental Church; the latter insisted on carrying out the practice at Rome. There ensued much discussion. The British priests were devoted to their old customs; the Romish still more devoted to the

* In the battle of Hatfield Chase, near Doncaster, A.D. 633.

† Winwed Field, near Leeds, A.D. 656.

Pope. Thus while Christianity was at last firmly planted in the soil, a formidable schism seemed likely once more to throw it prostrate.* The metropolis of Christianity was absorbed in its local importance, and the papal court cared little for the interests of the far-off insular people, regarded by them only as being among the later converts to the faith; but when a hierarchy had been established in the island, and prelates and priests speaking the Anglo-Saxon tongue, found their way to the great capital, they began to appreciate their piety, their numbers, and their wealth. The strangers came to be edified by a sight of the many imposing memorials of the faith they professed; and many stayed to improve themselves in sacred learning and literature.

The priesthood had scarcely been established in Anglo-Saxon England, when the influence of the mother church began to act upon it. The clerical adventurer has always been as ardent in his aspirations as the civilian, and his ambition quite as exalted. As monasteries multiplied and churches increased, the native priests had their imaginations excited equally with their zeal, by accounts of that great city in which everything great and holy in religion was to be found. The combination of wealth, of influence, of honour, exercised by the leading prelates at the court of Rome, was dwelt

* The Roman ritual was established by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, about 670; and the Anglican Church, like the elder national institutions, became dependent on that of Rome, more or less, in accordance with the patriotism or subserviency of the existing primate or king.

upon by the travelled monk with intense exaggeration, till the humblest neophyte felt an inclination to seek after the same rich rewards of a religious life. His application to study, as well as his exercise of abstinence and of self-mortification, were preparations for the difficult ascent he had determined to commence.

Among those insular ecclesiastics whose intelligence left an impression on the religion of their age, was Pelagius, a British monk, who after a fervent study of theology travelled not merely to the capital of the Christianity of the Popes, but to the capital of the Christianity of Christ. He went to Rome, to Africa, to the Holy Land, trod in the footsteps of the Apostles and the Fathers, and throughout his course preached in all the communities with almost apostolic effect. He was an accomplished controversialist, erudite in the scholarship of the fourth century; and possessed a subtle intellect and persuasive elocution. It chanced, however, that the opinions he expressed differed from what at Rome was considered orthodox. They became a schism which spread far and wide, and gave the court of Rome enormous trouble to repress.

Pelagius was brought before synods. Pelagius was accused by bishops; he had Jerome as an opponent, as well as Augustine, Orosius, and other pillars of orthodoxy. Nevertheless Pelagianism flourished; Rome became alarmed, and summoned the dangerous schismatic to make his defence. He had been condemned and anathematized more than once, and called heresiarch, and many other ugly names; but he came of a race, it was evident, not easily to be

talked down, and boldly met his accusers with a detailed confession of faith. Just then a change occurred in the Papacy, and a Greek became Pope. Zosimus, bishop of Jerusalem, sent a letter testifying to the orthodoxy of Pelagius; his principal associate—a countryman too, apparently—Celestius —was acquitted on a fair trial, and Pelagianism became popular in Rome.

African synods and Roman councils had failed to put down the new theology; but the Greek emperor considered himself a better authority on such profound subjects, and issued a decree condemning the heresiarch to banishment from Rome. Then the obsequious Pope found dangerous heresies, where the most innocent doctrines had previously existed, and all the prelates followed the Pope, excepting eighteen, who waited the decision of a general council. The Greek pontiff anathematized the bishops, another imperial edict excommunicated them, as well as the original offenders, and the orthodox party, so headed, hounded on each other to persecute to the death those who had ventured to differ with them in opinion. Both Pelagius and Celestius disappeared towards the conclusion of the first quarter of the fifth century—how or where has never been ascertained; but their opinions were not so easily disposed of as their persons. In truth they gave so much trouble to the orthodox church, as apparently to create a prejudice against British theologians.*

The earliest of our Anglo-Saxon authors, Gildas, in the sixth century is said to have visited Rome, but it

* Milman, "Hist. Latin Christianity," vol. i. p. 141.

is not quite clear that he ought to be considered an historical personage.* Wilfred, of whom we have more trustworthy accounts, was of good birth and education, and visited the Eternal City with Benedict Biscope. As he had returned to England in 661, this must have occurred a year or two before. Three years later he was elevated to the see of York. He was again in Rome in 677, and on his return converted the last portion of the island that remained pagan. It is quite clear that he had been to Rome to some purpose, for he was a strong partisan of the Pope, and laboured earnestly to impress his countrymen with the idea of papal infallibility.

While at Rome, Wilfred had been caressed by the court; and one of the papal council, the Archdeacon Boniface, was commissioned to instruct him in ecclesiastical knowledge and discipline. He then received the blessing of the Pope, with the name of Clement, and went his way a zealous servant of the Papacy. In England, he found a strong anti-Roman party intent on maintaining ecclesiastical independence. Inspired with the ideas he had imbibed of apostolic succession and papal infallibility, he rushed into the conflict without calculating the power of his opponents. He secured important aid; but the Anglo-Saxon prelates and monks were not disposed to renounce time-honoured usages—and his advocacy of Rome cost him his bishopric. On his second voyage to Rome, his vessel was driven on the coast of Friesland, where he remained to attempt the conversion of the pagans of that country. He made another journey over the Alps, whence he came

* Lappenberg, "Geschichte von Engl.," i. 38.

back to die, A.D. 709. He maintained a stately establishment, after the fashion of the continental prelates.*

The spiritual power in Rome came into collision with the temporal power in England, when Pope John V. fulminated a decree against Aldfrid, king of Northumbria, in favour of Winfrid, bishop of York; but the king, who treated the mandate with disrespect, soon afterwards died suddenly. His successor was too young to have any voice in the matter, and though the prelates and thanes seemed inclined to be contumacious, the Archbishop Berchtwald supported Winfrid, who had stood out for unconditional submission to the Chair of St. Peter; and the point in dispute was conceded. This occurred in the year 711.

Benedict Biscope visited the metropolis of Christianity more than once, collecting books and rarities. It was the policy of Rome to make friends of leading members of the Anglican Church. Its allegiance to the mother church was far from being as perfect as was desired.†

* Wright, "Biog. Britanic Lit., Anglo-Saxon Period," i. 183.

† It is difficult to determine whether Britain first received its ecclesiastical rules from Carthage, Antioch, Jerusalem, or Byzantium. Unquestionably long before the advent of Augustine, it had imported Christianity from an eastern source—as was evident in the British mode of observing Easter, and in some ritualistic observances that differed from those of Rome; and in remote places in the island where Augustine had not penetrated, these ancient forms were maintained. Wilfred was completely won over, and lost favour with his countrymen by his papal zeal. Biscope, abbot of St. Peter, Canterbury, subsequently of Wearmouth, was equally earnest in the same cause.—Bede, "Vit. Abb. Wirimuth," Ware, 22.

The influence of Rome was perceptible in an eminent degree in the ecclesiastical structures which now rose before the astonished Anglo-Saxon, in marked and beautiful contrast to the wooden building that had hitherto done duty for palace or church. An enterprising prelate, with his mind filled with the grandeur of the religious edifices in the capital of the Christian world, procured plans, artificers, and materials from abroad, and raised an edifice of stone, with glass windows and leaden roof, that might serve as a lasting memorial of his piety and munificence. Wilfred, as the architect of Ripon and Hexham, and Biscope of Wearmouth, preached sermons in stones that produced more Christian effect than their best discourses. They were the pioneers of ecclesiastical art in Britain, and to them and their zealous followers we owe the advance in church decoration for which England became famous.

Biscope introduced the Roman choral service into the religious houses he founded at Wearmouth and Jarrow. From one of his *five* visits to the Christian metropolis, he returned with the most accomplished of church musicians to be found there. He was abbot of St. Martin's, and archicantor of the Basilica (St. Peter's); for, notwithstanding the exertions of St. Augustine in this direction, the English choir had not become sufficiently impressive. John, the Roman arch-chanter, sung, and taught, and wrote, till his example and his instruction diffused a more worthy performance of this portion of the service. Biscope died on the 12th of January, 690, having largely advanced the influence of the Pope in Britain. His foundations were of incalculable benefit to

religion, and established the fame of the exemplary and learned Benedictines.*

Aldhelm, while abbot of Malmesbury, made that foundation a nursery of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and piety. He was invited by Pope Sergius to Rome, where it has been stated he brought Caedwalla, king of the West Saxons, to be baptized, A.D. 689. He was subsequently elevated to the bishopric of Sherborne, and laboured in that diocese to establish the papal rule till his death, which occurred on the 25th of May, 709. He was a voluminous author, and assisted materially in increasing the zeal of religious fraternities for the accumulation of books. To the labour of the ecclesiastical scribe in copying MSS. we owe not only the diffusion of a taste for literature that distinguished the Anglo-Saxon priesthood, but the preservation of numberless works of great interest. Aldhelm was equally celebrated as a musician, a poet, and a scholar.† He built the abbey of Malmesbury;‡ a place which had long been famous as the resort of pious scholars and recluses. This religious house was enriched by King Athelstane, and as it possessed peculiar sanctity, there he chose to be buried. It maintained its reputation for many centuries as a nursery of piety and learning. When its accomplished abbot was at Rome, by one authority he is stated to have reproved Pope Sergius for incontinence,§ by

* The Venerable Bede, who wrote his life, at his decease composed a homily in his honour.

† Will. Malmes., "Vit. Aldh." apud Wharton.

‡ See Dugdale, "Monasticon Anglicanum" (Bandinel).

§ Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ," inter Episcop. Sherbornens. sub anno 715.

another to have rendered himself liable to censure for not having done this.* As he wrote a work in praise of virginity, as well as a treatise on the monastic life, and was, moreover, famous for chastity, it is probable that the former is the true account.† He is said to have been the first Anglo-Saxon who wrote Latin poetry, and favoured the study of classical literature.

Another learned bishop, Egwin of Worcester, was received at Rome with marked favour, in acknowledgment of his reputation for scholarship and sanctity. He founded the abbey of Evesham, A.D. 709; then repeated his visit to obtain a charter from the Pope. He subsequently surrendered his bishopric, and ended his days in monastic retirement, on the 30th of December. The year of his death varies in his biographies from 714 to 720. ‡

Eddeus, the biographer and companion of Wilfred, and Ceolfrid, the friend of Biscope, were also visitors of Rome. The first was a monk of Canterbury; the last, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and an active teacher, having Bede among his numerous scholars. One died about 720; the other on 25th September, 716, while passing through France on his way to the Eternal City for the third time. §

Talwine, archbishop of Canterbury, June, 731, received the *pallium* from Pope Gregory III., but survived the distinction only three years.

The exertions of Anglican churchmen to extend

* Baleus, "De Scriptor. Britan."
† Bede, "Opuscula."
‡ Copegrave, Bale, Godwin, "Acta Sanctorum."
§ Copegrave, Bede, "Hist. Abb. Wir.," 48.

the papal influence were not confined to their own island. Wilbrord was ambitious of a larger sphere of usefulness, and ventured on a voyage to the Rhine, for the purpose of bringing the country in its vicinity within the pale of the Gospel. With a few courageous associates, he first sought the co-operation of Pepin, king of the Franks, and then proceeded to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope. He was sent on his noble mission, converted the Prussians, and having made another journey to Rome, was consecrated by Sergius I., bishop of Utrecht. He returned to his work as a missionary, made converts, and founded churches and monasteries. Fierce wars interrupted his success, till Charles Martel became his patron. He lived till the year 738, closing his illustrious career in his monastery, Epternach, near Treves.

Sergius I. appears to have done much to conciliate the Anglican branch of his church. Troubled by his conflict with the emperor Justinian II., and the severe enactments of the Quinisextor Council,* he gladly cultivated closer relations with the priesthood of a remote community of Christians on whose intelligence and enterprise he might rely. The Venerable Bede was another of these insular churchmen whom he desired to distinguish with marks of favour and confidence. The Pope is said to have sent him an invitation, but died shortly afterwards. There are statements of Bede's residence in Rome, but they are legendary. His prodigious literary labours doubtless did more service to the mother Church than could have been obtained by a

* Anastasius, in "Vit. Sergii."

dozen visits to the capital. He survived till the year 735.*

Among the distinguished prelates of the English Church in the first half of the eighth century was Acca, bishop of Hexham, in Northumberland. He acquired in Rome, where he went in the train of Wilfred, much knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture and decoration, which he put to profitable use on his return to England. He had also studied church music, and with the assistance of Maban, an accomplished musician, introduced anthems and Latin hymns into the church service in his diocese. In short, he took great pains that the sacred buildings, as well as the ceremonies performed in them, should be rendered as impressive as possible. He died in the year 740.†

About the same period, among Anglican visitors to Rome, were Albinus, abbot of St. Peter's, Canterbury; Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated by Gregory III.; Daniel, bishop of Winchester; Forthere, bishop of Sherborne; Hwetbert (Hunœtherctus), abbot of Wearmouth; and Egbert, archbishop of York. He too received the pallium from Pope Gregory; so also did Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury. In short, it had become imperative that the Anglican prelate should obtain investiture from the head of the Latin Church, and it was the policy of the court of Rome to convince him of the superior efficacy of such institution. Once in the capital, surrounded by evidences of paramount

* Gehle, "Disputatio Historico-Theologica de Bedæ Venerabilis Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis."

† Roger Hovedon, "Annal.;" Baleus, "De Scriptoribus Britan."

Christian authority, this was seldom difficult; nevertheless it did sometimes occur that a national feeling displayed itself after possession of the diocese.

Gregory II. and III. were equally solicitous to attract around them the more distinguished of the Anglo-Saxon prelates and scholars. The former especially favoured the ambition of Winfrid, who, aware of the visit of Wilfred to the pagan Rhine country, desired to complete its conversion. With several of his countrymen he commenced missionary labours, which were attended with such marked success, that Pope Gregory III. created him archbishop of Mentz, in the converted province, gave him the name of Boniface, as well as the honorary post of legate, and sanctioned his establishment of bishoprics, churches, and religious fraternities throughout the territory gained to Christendom. This prelate possessed extraordinary talent, energy, and virtue, and lived to establish a hierarchy in the christianized part of Germany, as well as to exercise a very considerable influence over the Franks. He was killed during an unexpected attack of pagan Frieslanders in the year 755.*

Boniface, though an Anglo-Saxon by birth, was thoroughly Roman by education, and when archbishop of Mentz, wrote to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, advising the subserviency of the Anglican Church to that of Rome; but a council of prelates held at Cloveshoe in the year 747, though it entertained the idea, seems to have evaded making it a law.† The king continued long after to exer-

* Willibald, "Vita Bonifac."

† Wilkins, "Concilia," p. 90.

cise the rights of a *de facto* head of the Anglican hierarchy in the disposal of their dignities; but it was this prerogative that the papal system was established to set aside—the Supreme Head of the Roman Church assuming the sole right of bestowing all benefices appertaining to every national church in her communion.

Queen Frythegith was escorted to the capital of the Christian world by Forthere, bishop of Sherborne; Princess Eadburga also went there and entered a convent. The example was followed by her countrywomen, but with anything rather than edifying results; in truth, in many instances producing evils so scandalous, that the prelates, who had been foremost in encouraging the journey as a means of strengthening faith, were obliged to denounce it as more likely to effect its destruction. The fair enthusiasts, who left their country to devote themselves to a religious life in one or other of the establishments for women then existing in Rome and its neighbourhood, contrived, before they had gone half the journey, to forfeit whatever claim they may have had for the desired vocation. Instead of taking vows of perpetual chastity, Boniface complains that they seemed intent on going to the other extreme.*

In the pontificate of Gregory III. there were English nuns and English priests resident at Rome. Among the former was Bugga, a confidential correspondent of her illustrious countryman Boniface; among the latter, Willibald, his kinsman, who subsequently visited the Holy Land, and for seven

* "Epistolæ S. Bonifacii," &c. : Würdtwein, 1789.

years travelled over Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor,* returning to Italy, to take up his rest in the noble Benedictine monastery at Monte Casino. He afterwards proceeded to Rome, then joined Boniface in Germany, whom he accompanied into Thuringia, and was by him consecrated bishop of Eichstadt, where he erected and endowed a monastery. The family of Boniface contributed several labourers to the vineyard; among them his brother Wunebald, and his sister Walpurgis, who were also members of the religious community at Rome.

There were other missionaries from England who laboured with similar enterprise to extend the papal dominion. Among them Willihad, who was encouraged by Adrian I. and Charlemagne. After obtaining brilliant success, he built a magnificent church at Bremen. The city became a diocese, to which he was appointed bishop. He died here in November, 789.

Alcuin was regarded as a prodigy of scholastic learning, and a teacher of great repute. He also gained the personal regard of Adrian and Charlemagne. At the court of the latter he resided in a particularly confidential position—indeed there is little difficulty in tracing his inspiration in the system of ecclesiastical government published under the name of that illustrious potentate, whose ambassador, counsellor, and friend he remained for many years, travelling for him to England, to Rome, and elsewhere.

Alcuin is said to have instructed the emperor in theology, dialectics, and mathematics,† as well as assisted him in the composition of the "Libri quatuor

* "Vita Willibald." † Will. Malmes.

Carolini de Imaginibus."* This work was made public a little before the assembling of the Council of Frankfort, to which he accompanied Charlemagne, and took a prominent part in its proceedings. By his arguments against the opinions of Felix, bishop of Urgel, already condemned as heresy by a council at Ratisbon, as well as by Pope Adrian and a synod held in Italy, he convinced the bishop of his errors, and ended a mischievous controversy.† He was also instrumental in founding or remodelling the universities and schools of France,—Paris, Tours, Fulden, and Soisson.‡

For these and other important services in the cause of civilization, the emperor presented his counsellor and instructor with several rich abbeys, which Alcuin greatly benefited by judicious management and enlightened liberality. When he was permitted to retire from court, he passed the remainder of his life in the magnificent abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, devoting himself to literary composition and the superintendence of the celebrated school he had established in that city. He was a voluminous author, and stood pre-eminent among the ecclesiastical scholars of his age, writing on abstruse theological subjects, in Latin much purer than that commonly employed. He died in his abbey of St. Martin, on Whit-Sunday, 804. In England he had filled the office of librarian to the archbishop of York, had been deacon of that church, and subsequently was abbot of St. Augustine's in Canterbury.§

* Roger Hovedon.

† Du Pin, "Histoire de l'Eglise," Cent. VIII.

‡ Cave, "Hist. Lit. Sec. VIII." § Baleus, "De Scrip. Brit."

King Ethelwolf took his younger son Alfred to Rome, where he remained a year, during which period the king rebuilt a school that had been established in the city for the convenience of the Anglo-Saxon residents. Moreover, he was the bearer of his kingdom's tribute to the Pope, then and long subsequently known as St. Peter's Pennies or Pence, it having been arranged that the Anglican Catholics should be taxed extensively for the support of their countrymen in Rome, really for the support of the Supreme Pontiff. Ethelwolf had been ordained a priest, and was ever the Church's most devoted son. His counsellors and administrators were the Bishops Alstan and Swithin—the latter the saint of whose fame our July showers are usually faithful memorials.

The education for the priesthood was carefully attended to in Anglo-Saxon England. Besides the monastic houses—including St. Alban's, Abingdon, Athelney, Beverley, Croyland, Ely, Evesham; Exeter, Eynsham, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Pershore, Peterborough, Ramsey, Ripon, Selsey, Thorney, Wearmouth, Whitley, Winchester, and Worcester, many of which were nurseries of learning, there were schools of repute in Kent, Northumbria, and East Anglia, at Oxford and Waltham. It had become the custom of scholars, both abroad and at home, to seek the advantages of schools to which some famous professor gave European celebrity. This was the case with Malmesbury, where the scholastic repute of Aldhelm as a teacher of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, drew pupils from France as well as from Scotland. But there were more instances in which the English scholar sought the

Continent for the higher branches of knowledge; sometimes proceeding to Spain, where there were extraordinary facilities for ambitious students.

Journeys to Italy grew to be of more frequent occurrence as the dependence of the younger church on the elder became more obvious. They were taken not only by the primates and their suffragans, but by heads of religious houses, incumbents, and subordinate members of the regular and irregular clergy, chiefly bearing communications from their superiors. Even the laity found that there was merit in going to and returning from such a destination. If they had not any business to transact there, they accepted the journey as a duty; and the consideration it gave them popularized the idea, till a pilgrimage to Rome became almost as desirable a distinction as one to the Holy Land.

To Neot, the kinsman of Alfred, a recluse of great sanctity, and superior of a monastery in Cornwall called after his name, is attributed a letter to Pope Martin, respecting the English school at Rome. Through his influence with this pontiff, Alfred is said to have obtained important advantages.* Such statements, however, rest on no historical authority. Nevertheless, Plegmund, the king's archbishop of Canterbury, was confidentially employed by Pope Formosus, to ordain bishops to seven vacant sees. He died in 923.

It is well known that this patriotic monarch invited into the country foreign scholars of eminence. They assisted in diffusing the love of scholarship,

* "Vita St. Neoti," Whitaker, 347; Gorham, i. 41.

which had already produced so many distinguished native prelates. While the Anglican intellect had been directing a Charlemagne, and adding a new empire to the spiritual government of the Holy See, it could not have been much in need of continental assistance.

Odo was bishop of Wilton and archbishop of Canterbury. He visited Rome with Ethelwolf, but does not seem to have brought away much Christian instruction. His arrogance towards the youthful King Edwy, his unmanly cruelty to his queen, Alfgiva, and subsequent conspiracy to partition their kingdom, prove him to have belonged to the turbulent class of prelates that were even then common on the Continent. He was of a Danish family, though born in England, where he died, June 2, 961. In the following year the more celebrated Dunstan received the pallium as archbishop. His talents were unquestionably of a high order, and singularly varied: among them was skill in illumining MSS.; but he seems to have possessed an imperious temper. His career closed on the 19th of May, 988.

The nephew of the former and friend of the latter, Oswald, was consecrated in Rome archbishop of York. He was equally devoted to monachism, founding several fraternities, and died 28th of February, 992.

Hereman, bishop of Sherborne, was a Fleming, who obtained the patronage of Edward the Confessor. He is introduced here because he went with Aldred, archbishop of York, on a mission to Rome, where, in 1049, he addressed a council pre-

sided over by Leo IX., on the state of the English Church, of which he gave a flourishing account.* Pope Nicolas in 1061 honourably received Giso, the king's chaplain and confessor, who accompanied the bishops of York and Hereford on another mission from the king. Giso became bishop of Wells, and established a reputation for learning. He died in 1085.†

According to contemporary authorities, the Anglican Church was proceeding on its course without betraying any marked hostility to Rome, and quite unsuspicious of the deep-laid scheme that was there maturing for its destruction.

The Normans began to make a great figure at Rome; their chiefs had become the Pope's vassals, received titles at his hands, and were acknowledged his approved soldiers.‡ By the aid of their lances the patrimony of St. Peter expanded considerably, and the papal system again began to flourish.

It was not in Italy only that this enterprising race made their influence felt; in England they had been greatly encouraged by the king, Edward the Confessor, whose mother was a Norman. By the royal favour they filled the court, and were promoted to the highest offices, military, civil, and ecclesiastical.§ The Pope's partiality was particularly directed towards the clergy of that nation,

* Saxon Chronicle, sub anno.

† "Ecclesiastical Documents," edited by Rev. Joseph Hunter, Camden Society.

‡ Ordericus Vitalis.

§ Thierry, "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands."

and the Norman prelates in England enjoyed his favour in an eminent degree. This was not without a motive: the Anglo-Saxons had for some time withheld Peter's Pence, and were consequently marked out for signal punishment.

A reaction took place in England, under the direction of the Saxon earl, Godwin, and nearly all the intruding Normans were obliged to fly for their lives; among them Robert de Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury: he proceeded to Rome, where he knew his grievances would find a sympathizing listener in the Pontiff.

There had long been a disposition in the court of Rome to quarrel with the Anglo-Saxon prelates: they were abused as persons guilty of the worst offences to the mother Church — simony being especially laid to their charge, and this where everything was notoriously bought and sold. The prejudice was so strong, that when Aldred, archbishop of York, came to Rome to receive the *pallium* from the hand of the Pontiff, it was refused.

The archbishop was a considerable traveller; he had journeyed safely to and from the Holy Land, through Hungary and Germany, where he went at the command of Edward the Confessor on an embassy to the emperor, Henry II.; but on returning from a visit to Rome he and his companions were set upon by robbers, and so completely plundered that they were forced to go back to procure the means of getting home. Tosti, earl of Northumberland, one of the pillaged travellers, bluntly told the Pope that his anathemas would be sure of being disregarded by distant nations, if he had not

sufficient authority to repress robbery in his own neighbourhood. He demanded restitution, and hinted that the king of England, when he heard of the outrage, might stop the accustomed tribute. The Pontiff, Nicolas II., at the intercession of the court, complied, gave the bishop the pallium he had previously refused on account of his being charged with simony, and recompensed the travellers for their loss.*

Another applicant for consecration was Stigand, the Anglo-Saxon archbishop of Canterbury, who had superseded the Norman Robert. Benedict X. was then in the chair of St. Peter, and knowing the insecurity of his own power, granted the required favour; but this Pope was shortly deposed, and one furious against the English, Nicolas II., took his place. He had for his intimate friend and counsellor Lanfranc, a Lombard churchman, who stood high in the confidence of the duke of Normandy. He came to Rome ostensibly respecting the duke's marriage, which was within the prohibited degrees; but the real object of his mission was kept secret. The hostility of the court of Rome to England increased daily. Lanfranc obtained not only dispensation for the objectionable union, but became a confidential agent between Duke William and Pope Nicolas; and when the former had by a fraud induced Harold, the son of Godwin, to swear to assist him in obtaining the crown of England, the Pope insisted on the inviolability of the compact, because the oath had been sworn upon concealed relics.

When Harold was called to the vacant throne at

* William Malmes.

the death of Edward, an outcry was raised on the Continent against the alleged perjury of Harold and the English nation. Amongst those by whom they were most loudly denounced was Robert, the dispossessed archbishop, and Lanfranc, the confidential agent between the courts of Rome and Normandy. Then the Pope assumed to be horror-struck at the outrage, and at the instigation of Duke William summoned Harold to Rome. The king of England took no notice of the citation, except to deny the authority of the tribunal that had already prejudged his cause.

The famous Hildebrand was inaugurating a new era for the Papacy, and a diplomacy that had succeeded in getting rid of the Roman nobles, was to be called into play to dispose of the equally obnoxious Anglican Church. There may have been some excuse for the papal hostility to those freebooting patricians; but there was none for its merciless feeling against a flourishing branch of the great Catholic community. The claims of prelates who had zealously forwarded the interests of the mother Church—of others who had admirably played the part of apostles among the pagans of the German continent; the labours of English historians, theologians, and poets, who had helped to spread the apostolic faith, were entirely overlooked, that a grand example of priestcraft might be held up to the edification of orthodox Christians.

The Anglo-Saxon bishops and abbots, though with increasing reluctance, still climbed the weary Alps, and journeyed over the miserable Italian roads, and on their return, though much lighter in purse,

rejoiced in knowing that they were rich in relics and in books. But the popes and the cardinals, who profited by their expenditure, were plotting for their ruin. They were encouraging Duke Robert of Normandy to make a descent upon the island. The Papal Government found the Anglican Church gettting difficult of management. The prelates were sometimes contumacious, and the humbler clergy far from tractable. The tribute or tax of "Peter's Pence" had almost entirely ceased.

The negotiations carried on by means of Lanfranc are now sufficiently known. Thanks to the researches of mediæval scholars, the whole of the iniquitous scheme has been laid bare.* The son of Arlete of Falaise was ready to promise everything, and the court of Rome were in a position to exact everything; and as the two parties were encouraged by the prospect of a contingent interest of great value, if the affair succeeded, there could be no hindrance to a perfect understanding. Secret as the agreement was, the conditions speedily became public, and soldiers of fortune, including hordes of continental freebooters, offered their services for pay or for plunder. The duke's present resources were soon exhausted in retainers; but he could deal lavishly in promises. Across the Channel was an inexhaustible treasury in castles, towns, and women. His followers could help themselves.

The Pontiff was equally hostile to the Anglo-Saxons. He summoned a consistory to take the claim of Duke William into consideration; and as it

* Ordericus Vitalis. "Chronique de Normandie." Fleury, "Hist. Eccles."

was under the direction of Hildebrand, we arrive at reliable evidence as to who was the prime mover of the Norman invasion of England. There can be no doubt that this far-sighted ecclesiastic had seen the necessity of extinguishing the independence of the Anglican Church. To have permitted its open defiance of the papal authority, might have been fatal to the grand idea of dominion he had long been entertaining; and a treaty with the almost invincible Normans to place the English hierarchy completely under the pontifical government, in consideration of the largest measure of spiritual support which its influence could insure, appeared certain to realize the required object.

The consistory convened was, however, not so thoroughly Norman as Hildebrand desired. Notwithstanding the stress laid upon the sanctity of Harold's oath, the cardinals and other prelates conscientiously objected to condemning a Christian nation to the horrors of a war of invasion on such a pretext. The authority of the Pope's chief counsellor overruled all objections.* Possibly he gained the suffrages of the dissentients by showing how greatly the Papacy might profit by the success of the Norman adventurer. At any rate he succeeded in obtaining the assent of the Consistory to a judicial sentence pronounced by the Pope in person, in which the successor of the Apostle of Peace and representative of the Preacher of Brotherly Love, sanctioned an attack upon the people of England, on pretence of bringing the nation into obedience to the Holy See, and making the payment of Peter's

* Thierry.

Pence a perpetual obligation. Then a bull was read, excommunicating Harold and his supporters, and a sacred banner, as well as a diamond ring enclosing one of the Apostle's hairs, despatched to Normandy, the further to excite the assembled adventurers to the important enterprise.

A more monstrous outrage than this departure from the preaching and practice of the founders of Christianity cannot be conceived; and this was the work of a man supposed to be distinguished above his clerical contemporaries, by an apparently saint-like rectitude. It was much to the credit of the cardinals who objected to such a proceeding, that they strove to excuse themselves from giving it their sanction by referring to the reproach it would bring upon them. It was, however, one to which "the Apostolic Church" soon learnt to reconcile itself. The end was made to justify the means, however plain was the infamy and clear the homicide of all who sanctioned them.*

It was only three days after the Anglo-Saxons had suffered fearfully by a successful defence against a Norwegian invasion under Harold Haardrade, assisted by Tostig, the brother of Harold, that the duke of Normandy, having crossed the Channel with a powerful army of mercenaries of various nations, well equipped and disciplined, by the decisive battle of Hastings, 1066, reversed the result

* See one of the Epistles of Gregory VII. for a reference to the objections of the cardinals. "Qui pro re, à quibusdam fratribus pænè *infamiam* pertuli, submurrantibus quod ad tanta *homicidia* perpetranda, tanto favore meam operam impendissem" (xiv. 648).

of the appeal to arms that had just been decided.* Duke William's supporters, among whom were several Flemings,† were rewarded with large grants of land, when the conqueror ascended the throne of the slain Harold. Many of the Anglo-Saxon nobility found themselves displaced by foreigners; but the clergy suffered more than the laity.

The Anglo-Saxon prelates had at first distinguished themselves as leaders of hastily got up levies to dispute the progress of the invaders; but were badly supported. Most of them made their submission to the Conqueror, and the Archbishop Eldred, on Stigand refusing, assisted at his coronation.‡ The plunder was enormous, and after the lion's share had been forwarded to the Pope, the residue was distributed among the Normans and their comrades. It was some time, however, before the court of Rome were assured of the entire submission of the island, and could venture upon putting forward the claim, the prospect of maintaining which had induced them to encourage so unjustiable a spoliation.

Hildebrand witnessed the success of his scheme. Rome became more than ever the resort of travellers from England; and the papal exchequer was greatly enriched by contributions from the conquered country.

At last the native prelates were summoned to

* See Thierry's animated narrative of the Conquest.

† Gautrel, "Nouvelles Archives Historiques." Thierry. But there were several Flemings in offices of trust in the time of Edward the Confessor.

‡ Thierry. Guil. Neubrig. "De Reb. Anglic.," fol. 15. Hearne, "Chron. Johan. Brompton.," i. 962. Selden.

appear before a council held at Winchester, and the haughty spirit which pervaded the document—it emanated from a papal legate—prepared them for their fate. Stigand, the archbishop, was the first deposed; the rest followed, scarcely one being permitted to retain his diocese. Lanfranc, the active agent of Pope Alexander, received his recompense: he was appointed to succeed Stigand; moreover, was made *sole* primate, that the papal system might be the easier introduced into the country. The Pope sent him his own *pallium*, and neglected nothing that might bind him as the instrument of his will. There was a Norman archbishop of York, Thomas, but he was forced to be subordinate to Canterbury. The degradation of the Anglican Church was increased by the oppressions of the Norman adventurers, who robbed the rich, and slew all who made resistance.*

The good cardinals at Rome doubtless reflected on the obligations the Church owed to Anglo-Saxon energy and virtue. Still fresh in their recollection ought to have been the important missionary labours of Archbishop Boniface and his family; the benevolence, the taste, the liberality of Ethelwold; the erudition of Alfric, of Bede, and of Dunstan; the piety of Neot, Swithin, and Egbert; the munificence of the kings and prelates of England, and the devotion of her people. But these noble qualifications would not weigh against the stern resolve of Hildebrand. The Norman *protégés* of the Pope, though never remarkable for possessing Christian attributes, were likely to enrich the Papacy.

* Thierry.

As Gregory VII., Hildebrand had scarcely secured the reward of his labours in behalf of the Church, when the Norman archbishops and the Norman bishop of London presented themselves before him. They had come provided with abundant English treasure, which they distributed liberally. Although one of Lanfranc's companions had been guilty of simony, and another was the son of a priest, the Pope received each most graciously, and gave their crosiers to the primate of all England to present to them as his suffragans.*

The pitiable condition into which the Anglo-Saxon Christians were reduced excited indignant complaints among continental churchmen; Gregory could scarcely have been insensible to their reproaches, but easily reconciled himself to the monstrous wrong he had committed when he beheld the Papacy exercising absolute authority, not only over the Anglican Church, but over other branches of the now flourishing institution of which he was the head.

The conscientious cardinals, who had raised such Christian objections to the invasion of England, had ample reason to regret not having persisted in their opposition. Every priest who could escape from the doomed country brought to Rome a tale of murder and sacrilege. Unoffending monks were turned out of their cells by aliens unable to make themselves understood by the people on whom they had intruded as ministers of their religion; other houses had thrust upon them foreign abbots, who introduced the lawless soldiery into their churches,

* Thierry.

on the pretence of enforcing discipline, and on the slightest provocation dyed the steps of the altar with the blood of its priests. The reliquaries were rifled, the libraries plundered of their rarest MSS., and in many instances the sacred edifices given to the flames.

The nunneries were the scenes of more infamous outrages. In truth it was evident, from the accounts brought to Rome, that no Anglo-Saxon woman was safe from the licentious freebooters who were masters of the country. The rich were claimed as wives, the young seized upon for concubines; and if the recluse was attractive in person, no convent walls were strong enough to secure to her either her vocation or her chastity.

A Christian community thus treated with the approval of the head of the Catholic Church, caused much comment in the Sacred College; and when it became known that the chief agent in this barbarity had paid for the assistance to his expedition of one ship and sixty boats with the sees of Dorchester and Lincoln,* and was dispensing ecclesiastical patronage with reckless indiscrimination, their complaints became louder.

It began to appear as if the good work accomplished by one Gregory was being destroyed by another, and that the victors were stamping out the religion as well as the language of the people. The latter was evidently regarded as a crime, that deprived the speaker of justice, of consideration, and of employment. It was in the power of the merest scum in the motley crew who had shared in the

* Eadmeri "Hist. Nov." Selden, fol. 7.

invasion, to hold an Anglo-Saxon of as little account as a dog.

The Pope took no heed of remonstrances. The nation that had refused tribute to the Holy See had in his eyes deserved signal chastisement. The groans and the execrations of the Anglo-Saxon clergy he regarded with indifference. He had entered into a compact with Duke Robert for the advantage of the Papacy, and all he seemed to care for was the completion of his engagement.

Nothing could exceed the aversion of the Anglo-Saxon monks for their Norman superiors, and frequently the men-at-arms were called in to defend the unpopular prelate; the dispute ending with the slaughter of several of the fraternity, and the imprisonment of the rest. On the death of the despotic Lanfranc, he was succeeded in the primacy by Anselm, a man of mild and amiable disposition, under whose tolerant rule the Anglican Church began to recover from the state of misery and degradation to which it had been reduced; and the subsequent marriage of Henry, a son of the Conqueror, with Matilda, a princess of Saxon race, gave further improvement to the condition of the people generally; but it required another century before either clergy or laity had ceased to feel the iron rule of their oppressors. Thanks to the far-seeing Hildebrand, the politic Pope Gregory VII.

The grand scheme of Gregory, as it affected England, proved a failure in one important respect. He, through the subserviency of William I., obtained the recognition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He secured also Peter's Pence, though it came tardily.

Yet he failed in getting the Conqueror as a vassal. It is on record, in a letter sent from the king of England to the Pope. The legate had asked for money, and required King William to take the oath of fealty before a cardinal. "The justice of the first demand," he replied, "I admit; the other I deny. I will not swear fealty, for I never promised to do so, nor was it done by any of my predecessors to any of thine."*

Ultimately England gained by the intelligence and refinement brought into the country by continental scholars. Church architecture received an extraordinary impulse, and every branch of ecclesiastical art and learning flourished to a similar extent. A desire of acquiring distinction in the Church led many an ardent scholar to foreign schools of eminence, where they rivalled and excelled the native professors, or gained the highest honours that Rome could bestow.

* "Unum admisi, alterum non admisi; fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo quià nec ego promisi."—Seldeni notæ ad Eadmeri Hist. Nov., 164.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN CHURCH.

Lanfranc and Anselm as Archbishops of Canterbury — Their Devotion to Rome — Anglo-Norman Scholars — Danger of Travelling to Rome — Pope Calixtus and the King of England at Gisors — Pilgrimages to Rome — Condition of the Papal See — Greediness of the Romans — Ornate Character of the Roman Ritual — English Benedictines — Papal Legates in England — Pope Joan an Englishwoman — Institution of Cardinals.

LANFRANC, as archbishop of Canterbury, proved himself a faithful son of the Roman Church. It was not Peter's Pence only he restored; shillings and pounds were gathered in the name of the Apostle, and transmitted to the papal treasury. From 1070, when he was consecrated, his efforts were uniformly made to extinguish the nationality of the Anglican Church. In the following year he was in Rome, but soon returned to England to continue his reforms. He was an able primate, and distinguished himself by his love of letters and patronage of learned men,* occasionally employing his time in literary occupations.† His treatise against Berengarius‡ still exists as evidence of his talent. He survived till 28th of May, 1089,

* Wil. Malmes., "De Gest. Pontif.," 214.

† "Hist. Littéraire de France," viii. 237.

‡ "Liber de Córpore et Sanguine Domini, contra Berengarium."

two years after assisting in the coronation of William Rufus.

Thomas, archbishop of York, was also an accomplished prelate. He was fond of the study of church music, and composed for the choir; he also wrote sacred words to secular tunes. He accompanied Lanfranc in his last visit to Rome, and was equally zealous in introducing Roman usages in the Anglican Church. He survived not only the Conqueror, but the Conqueror's successor. In August, 1100, he placed the crown on the head of Henry I., and died three months afterwards.

Several of the Norman prelates distinguished themselves by a liberal patronage of literature and art. Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, proved himself an architect of remarkable skill, as evinced in his cathedral and castle. Gerard, archbishop of York, was twice in Rome, and was a scholar in high repute for scientific knowledge: hence the vulgar report of his practising the black art. This caused his body to be refused Christian burial, till his successor, in a more enlightened spirit, directed it to be placed with preceding primates. He died in 1108.

The court of Rome found no difficulty in dealing with the Anglo-Norman Church; suffragans and primates being equally subservient. It is but fair to add that the prosperity of this church was the object of special regard to its prelates, and scholarship and art flourished in their dioceses. Anselm, in 1093, was forcibly consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, at Gloucester, by several episcopal admirers; but William II. and a large number of bishops were

averse to his acknowledgment of Urban II. as Pope. Presently the king changed his mind, and sent an embassy to that pontiff, who despatched his legate with the pallium for the primate. Shortly afterwards there was another quarrel, and the archbishop proceeded to Rome, where the Pope lavished all kinds of favours upon him, took him to Aversa, and sent him to the council at Bari, where he officiated as the papal advocate, April 24, 1099.

Pecuniary influence was manifested in the treatment of Urban to the ambassador sent by King William II. to influence the court of Rome against Anselm. The Pope accepted the royal presents, and apparently discountenanced the archbishop. Subsequently, however, he bestowed on Anselm additional favours, causing him to officiate as archbishop of Canterbury at a synod assembled at Rome; lodged him sumptuously, and paid him frequent visits. At the synod his case was brought under the notice of the assembly by a prelate of considerable influence, the bishop of Lucca, who reproached the Pontiff for delaying to do him justice. Urban promised to look to it; but his death following soon after, probably prevented his taking any steps in behalf of the English primate. His successor Paschal made an honourable stand on his behalf against the representatives of King Henry on the question of investiture.

The king seized the possessions of the see of Canterbury, and Anselm retired to Lyons, employing his great literary talent in religious compositions. He returned to England in 1106, devoted himself to his archiepiscopal duties till the 21st of April, 1109,

when he died, leaving a name equally illustrious as a scholar and as a divine. That he was completely the papal superintendent of the Anglican Church there cannot be a question; nevertheless he possessed many noble qualities. He reformed abuses where practicable, and would not tolerate priestly incontinence, against which he wrote a treatise.*

Herebert, bishop of Norwich, was obliged to make a journey to Rome to obtain absolution for having purchased his bishopric of William Rufus. The charge of simony could have been clearly established; but he was rich, and found no difficulty in dealing with the Pope and cardinals. Notwithstanding this irregularity, he made an excellent bishop, employed his funds in building religious edifices, and his talents in writing religious books. His death took place on the 22nd July, 1119.†

Eadmer, evidently of Anglo-Saxon race, attended Radulph, archbishop of Canterbury, to the capital of the Christian world in 1119. He obtained celebrity as a chronicler as well as a bishop: his "Historia Novorum" is an able contribution to the history of the time, to which his Life of Anselm is an addendum. He wrote also biographies, theological treatises, and other religious compositions. He became bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, 1120, but did not remain in his see. He died at Canterbury about the year 1124.

Another chronicler, and another visitor to Rome,

* Eadmer, "Vit. Anselm." Wil. Malmes. Hasse, "Anselm von Canterbury."

† Wil. Malmes. Henrici Archidiaconi Huntingdoniensis Historia. "Hist. Littéraire de France."

was Stephen Harding, also of Anglo-Saxon lineage. He became distinguished as an ascetic, assisting materially in founding the celebrated order of Cistercians, for which he wrote the "Charta Caritatis." He was also a profound Hebraist, and employed himself in revising the Latin text of the Bible, by comparison with the Hebrew.

Gilbert, bishop of London, known as "Gilbertus Universalis," for his extensive scholarship, had previously been a famous teacher at the schools of Auxerre and Nevers. Although he is said to have had no equal among his contemporaries in scientific acquirements, very little is known of him except that he died while approaching Rome, somewhere between 1134 and 1139.

The only anti-papal bishop we meet with is David of Bangor, one of the chaplains of the emperor Henry V., and the author of an account of his campaigns in Italy, which has not been preserved. It is condemned by William of Malmesbury, for its imperial tendencies, which must have excited the prejudices of the High Church party, who have combined not only to destroy the bishop's writings, but almost to annihilate his memory. He is supposed to have died after the commencement of the second quarter of the twelfth century.

In the first quarter of this century, it was rare for an English churchman to attain high ecclesiastical dignity. An exception was made in favour of Thurstan, who, having been a canon of St. Paul's, and chaplain to the king, found little difficulty in getting elected archbishop of York, and was consecrated by the Pope in 1119. A dispute respecting the

superiority of the archbishop of Canterbury was decided at Rome in his favour; but it was only by the threats of punishment from the Pontiff, that his opponents were made to submit. Thurstan took possession of his see, but resigned it in 1140, and for the few weeks of life that remained to him, retired to the abbey of Pontefract.

The influence of Rome had become completely established in England; the prelates found themselves, or became, dependent on the court. All were obliged to visit the distant city, and rarely departed without accepting service. The journey was attended with considerable inconvenience, and some risk. If the traveller escaped the robbers who waylaid his path, he not unfrequently succumbed to fatigue or fever. Bishop Gilbert died going to Rome. Lawrence of Durham, a royal chaplain, and a famous scholar and poet, was seized with a mortal illness on his return, in the year 1153.

The Norman kings of England had maintained the right of conferring the higher ecclesiastical appointments by the delivery of a crosier and a ring; but the Pope, as supreme head of the Apostolic Church, insisted that this investiture remained with him. Archbishop Anselm supported the papal pretensions, and lost favour with the king; but Paschal wrote several earnest, yet temperate remonstrances, and Henry, though supported by many of his powerful nobility, allowed all disputes to be settled by a council held in London.

In this way the Papacy extended its influence considerably, but did not succeed in establishing its

security. The papal court became notorious for pecuniary corruption, as well as for luxurious living. The state assumed by the cardinals could not be supported by the income allowed them by the Pope, and they made up the deficiency as they best could. They began to take bribes when accepting agencies for princes or prelates who had causes pending in the Roman courts.

The account given by William of Malmesbury of the meeting of the king of England and Pope Calixtus at Gisors in Normandy, in October, 1119, is singularly edifying. He plainly intimates that, though the king was a serious offender, he contrived to gain favour with the Pontiff, as well as the cardinals, by certain material considerations, insinuating the irresistible force of that oratory which is supported by valuable presents. It is equally clear that the noblemen who accompanied the king recommended themselves to members of the Sacred College with the same eloquence, for the cardinals expressed themselves surprised at the intelligence of these Western people, acknowledging that they could make no resistance to the liveliness of their arguments. The issue of this conference was, says the historian, the Pope declared that nothing could be more just than the cause of the king.

It is evident from the statement of this chronicler that disorders occurred at Rome, and that the offerings were considerable during the visits of the religious of different nations. The sufferings of travellers who came a long distance, or the inconveniences arising from having the city overcrowded, induced Calixtus to endeavour to put

a stop to the great abuses which had flourished at the expense of the pilgrims. The latter it appears were pillaged and ill-treated by the Romans, despite the remonstrances of the Pope. He seems to have entertained a particular regard for those persons who came from England, for he advised them to remain at home, allowing two pilgrimages to St. David's to be equal in sanctity to one to Rome. The liberality of the pilgrims Calixtus took care should not be diverted from the papal treasury.

The pontificate of Honorius succeeded that of Calixtus. His legate to England, the Cardinal John of Cremona, in a council held in London, severely condemned the practice of priests maintaining concubines. It was discovered that he was an offender in the same way, for which being reproached, he endeavoured to excuse himself by stating that he was not a priest, but a reprover of priests.

In 1129 Honorius was succeeded by Innocent I., who was obliged to fly from Rome to France, where he also had an interview with King Henry. Innocent died in the year 1131.

In what condition was the metropolis of Christianity? It was more than eleven hundred years since the Seven-hilled City had been mistress of the world. Nominally she was so still as far as her religious faith was recognized, but in a totally different sense. There was a change in all the institutions of the elder domination. The College of Augurs had been superseded by scores of similar retreats for monks and friars; the vestal virgins were represented by many sisterhoods of nuns; that venerated body the Conscript Fathers found

their successors in the cardinals, and the Cæsar had been supplanted by the Pope. The Roman matron and the Roman hero had made way for the ecstatic recluse and the self-denying hermit; the classic taste and the classic genius had been pushed out of favour by dogmatic discourses and miraculous legends. Tacitus and Livy, Seneca and Pliny, Virgil and Horace, Cicero and Cæsar, and the rest of the great authors of a great people, were disregarded, if not forgotten, for the literature of decretals and bulls, of legends and homilies, of commentaries, controversies, and dogmas. Theology formed the richest portion of the Christian library, and civil and canon law had found a sufficiency of able illustrators; but the poetry and philosophy of mediæval Rome could not be compared with works of the same nature produced in a more glorious epoch.

The people had degenerated with the literature. William of Malmesbury* describes them as the most fickle of men, bartering justice for gold, and dispensing with the canons for money. This character is intended for the Roman officials, and it is one they contrived to retain with remarkable consistency for many generations.

Much of the ancient Rome remained; but the old names and old associations were rapidly being forgotten, under a new aspect or a new appellation. The Cornelian gate had become the gate of St. Peter, from a church, the Basilica, dedicated to the Apostle, which had the reputation of containing his remains in a shrine famous for its richness in gems and the precious metals. Other churches were in the imme-

* "Chronicle," 1097.

diate neighbourhood that held the relics of minor saints. The Flaminian gate was called after St. Valentine, from an adjoining church dedicated to him. The Porcinian was regarded only as leading to the sepulchres of the martyrs who suffered in the persecutions of Claudius and Diocletian. The Salerian had been named St. Silvester's, where there were several churches containing saints and martyrs in abundance. Near the Porta Nomentana there were similar buildings with a like alteration, and one Pope, Alexander, is said to have found a resting-place on the road. By the Tiburtine (newly named after St. Lawrence) reposes this saint, as well as Saints Hypolitus and Trifonia, with several martyrs.

In all the fourteen entrances to the city the Christian traveller was appealed to in the same manner. Wherever he trod was the dust of those whose faith and suffering had established the religion he professed. What could be to him the earlier antecedents of the Latin, the Appian, the Portuensian, or the Aurelian gates? They had a later history, and this presented to him a throng of names and incidents that must completely have kept out of view any suggestion of the glory of the Empire and the greatness of the Republic.

Holy as were the more modern recommendations of the city, it seems that they were rarely respected by the inhabitants. They ceased to appreciate their treasures, and occasionally betrayed impatience, not only of relics, but of priests, of cardinals, and of popes. They would break out into open revolt, and commit the grossest excesses. Even when the Crusaders had visited their city on the way to the

Holy Land, unable to satisfy their lust of money, they are stated to have poured out the blood of their fellow-citizens over the graves of the saints and martyrs.*

This greediness of gain may almost be regarded as a Roman vice; there is scarcely a chronicler who does not dwell on its general adoption, as if every office had its horse-leech, whose cry was "Give! give!" and he makes it pretty clearly understood that the more exalted the officer the bigger the leech. It could not be expected that the cardinals would be exempt from this *sacra auri fames;* as a general rule, they seem to have accepted whatever was offered.

With regard to those fighting prelates who figure so prominently in the history of the Middle Ages, it must be admitted that they took their character in a great measure from the society of which they formed a part. The spirit of feudalism affected the clergy as well as the laity, and obliged the prelate to come forward as a military commander when his services were required in that capacity. In the first Crusade many distinguished themselves as much by their chivalrous valour as by their religious zeal; and it will be found that they followed the example of the popes in making war upon their neighbours, or assisting in the conflicts of other belligerents whenever there seemed a prospect of doing so with advantage. This advantage, however, was not always for the Church,—much too frequently it ministered to a selfish ambition.

Could those recluses of the catacombs, who have left there so many touching memorials of their

* William of Malmesbury, A.D. 1097.

enforced seclusion, have been permitted to visit the seat of government of the successor of their bishop or presbyter, how intense must have been their astonishment at the difference created in the Christianity they had been taught and the Christianity they beheld: the modest ritual, the limited congregation, the unassuming costume, the quiet service, were turned into a gorgeous ceremonial, a crowd of worshippers, splendid robes, and an astounding choir. The few hunted and trembling Christians, whose only desire was to be permitted unmolested to live out their obscure lives, were replaced by a crowned potentate and a princely court, sharing in a performance that seemed better adapted for human glorification than for the adoration of that Eternal God they had been wont to worship in simplicity and truth.

It was of little use declaring the priesthood a race apart, while they were permitted to devote themselves to secular employments. The study of the civil law, as it opened to them a sure and expeditious road to wealth, became so general that more than one pope denounced it as unclerical; but as in other instances of papal interference with the uncanonical gains of churchmen, this only elicited a reference to the notorious irregularities flourishing at Rome; and the Priest, whenever his interests influenced him, became as secular as the Pontiff.

It demanded a combination of qualities, as exalted as they were rare, to rule the Apostolic Church apostolically. It was much easier to find governors content with governing in an exaggerated secular spirit, and it was against this complete

departure from the original scriptural-pastoral character of the Roman episcopate that Christianity protested in those declarations of independent opinion that were stigmatized as heresies and schisms.

The popes were never the irresponsible personages they assumed to be, general councils having been devised as a check upon papal abuses; but at last they found themselves in a position to bend these assemblages to their will, and their power became absolute. The most influential Catholic authorities again and again strove to confine the operation of the Papacy within the limits of gospel and ecclesiastical law. A little later, John of Salisbury distinctly asserts that to the popes all things are allowable *only* that are supported by divine law, and he declares that not even St. Peter could absolve a sinner who had not repented of his guilt. Indulgences for the living and masses for the dead, therefore, were looked upon as abuses.

The institution of the Papacy was the work of several centuries. A long conflict of tradition and opinion had to be waged before the Catholic doctrine could be established; a much longer between assumption and prejudice, before the Catholic government could be developed; and both were subject to modification or extension by the operation of synods and general councils. The individual authority of the popes of the Eternal City—*papæ urbis æternæ*, published in the shape of bulls (papal declarations bearing a leaden seal), or decretals (judgments or decrees of the Church on particular questions or causes), took the shape of a

code. Nevertheless, there could be no reliance on it; for each pontiff could and did exercise the power of setting them aside,—in truth, not unfrequently, as will be shown presently. A paragraph commencing notwithstanding,—*nonobstante*, often annulled what had previously been permitted, or sanctioned what had a little time before been disallowed.

When the Pope went beyond the confines of the papal dominions, his presence often became a great Christian influence. The spectacle of the venerable sovereign of Christendom surrounded by the imposing and picturesque accessories of his dignity, rarely failed to stir religious feeling where it had lain dormant, and excite it to enthusiasm where it had been passive. The veritable Vicar of Christ was then seen to be a visible reality, and the consciousness of a power to bind or loose spread through the ignorant masses with the force of a revelation. There is little doubt that the successful development of the papal power owed much to the spontaneous convictions of the multitudes drawn together by the appearance of its possessor. With the majority, the Pope had previously been an article of belief, he now became a substantial and enduring faith.*

The religious fraternities afforded powerful assistance to the Papacy. The rule of St. Benedict was first established early in the fifth century, at the celebrated monastery at Monte Casino, between Rome and Naples, on the site of a temple to Apollo. There is such a large element of legend in the biographies of

* Von Müller, "Von den Reisen der Päpste."

this celebrated recluse, that a reliable account of his life and labours is not easy to find. Unquestionably as a priest he was one of the most remarkable of his time, and as a Christian, as ardent as he was self-denying, fearless, and sincere. As the founder of the order of Benedictines, he deserves to be regarded as the creator of the best example of mediæval monasticism. It spread over Italy, and was one of the earliest of the religious houses established in England. They appear to have shared popular favour with the canons of St. Augustine, an order that recommended itself by a combination of the monkish and clerical duties. St. Alban's was one of their most celebrated houses; St. Peter's, Westminster, another.

On the other hand, the investing with almost pontifical authority individuals sent into other countries on special missions, generally made the papal authority unpopular. In instances where a native prelate or cardinal was appointed "legate," his influence with his countrymen and his church, as well as his own sense of propriety and justice, made the authority respected; but in general he was an Italian priest or monk, with no higher qualification than that of a tax-collector, who knew that the more he collected among these foreign people, the greater would be his recompense at Rome. His exactions were therefore enforced in the most arbitrary spirit, and created general discontent. Certainly this was the case in England, and our ecclesiastical chroniclers trace the succession of such visitors as the progress of a flight of locusts over a teeming soil.

The mythical Pope Joan is stated to have been an Englishwoman, who was enamoured of an English monk, with whom she travelled, and studied with such success, that at Rome her attainments led to her elevation into the College of Cardinals, by whom she was elected to succeed Leo IV., as Joannes VII. says one learned authority, as Joannes VIII. says another. Though Sabellicus and Platina may both be wrong; if the fair theologian disguised her sex, there is nothing impossible in the story. Her pontificate is said to have lasted upwards of two years, when, while figuring in a grand procession, her sex was discovered, in consequence of her being taken with the pains of labour. Modern Catholic writers repudiate the "Papissa Giovanna;" but some chroniclers of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries—Marianus Scotus, Sigebert de Gemblours, and Martino di Cistello—gave credence to the story. The subject has been well discussed in *Notes and Queries*, vol. iii.

In the time of Paschal I., the privilege of electing Popes which had hitherto been exercised by the senators of Rome, was given to a select body of officials, who were constituted for the purpose under the name of "Cardinals."* They were to be princes of the Church, in dignity to be next the Pontiff, and from them, and by them only, could he be elected. This arrangement was put in force at the death of Paschal, when the cardinal of St. Sabina, by the suffrages of the newly-appointed body, succeeded to the vacancy. Each prelate on entering upon the

* Garimberti, "Vite di Alcuni Cardinali." Plato, "Dell' Officio e Dignità de' Cardinali."

cardinalate, assumed the name of a saint, which on commencing his pontificate he changed to another appellation. The cardinal of St. Sabina became Eugenius II. But the people of Rome were not easily reconciled to having the elective power taken out of their hands, and sometimes protested against it with success.

The organization of a select chamber of princes, of the highest attainable rank in the ecclesiastical aristocracy, as the exclusive source of pontifical pretensions, and the privy council of the papal government, had a worldly rather than a spiritual significance. In no way could it be associated with the policy of primitive Christianity ; no comparison with the Apostles could be maintained, nor any with the Fathers. It was another departure from Christian precedent, and seemed intended to establish the Papacy as a temporal government, with machinery the best adapted for temporal dominion.

There were already in Christendom a hierarchy for every national church,—archbishops, patriarchs, bishops, abbots, priors, spiritual peers of several degrees, with more than the privileges of lay peers; but the new dignity expressed pre-eminence and super-excellence, and could be conferred only by the Supreme Pontiff. This exclusive right, however, was often disputed.

The effect of such creation was to make all ecclesiastical dignitaries dependent on the favour of the court of Rome. It declared to the ambitious churchman that the surest source of promotion must always be found in the Holy See. It announced that the Pope had not only every

position of honour and affluence in his gift, but through him alone could be gained the elevation which opened the way to papal sovereignty. The pretensions of the Pontiff to rule the rulers of the world might be, and often was, successfully resisted; but the fact that the temporal power, though it might appoint prelates (with the papal approval), could not appoint cardinals, ultimately exercised a strain upon the loyalty of the subject that neither patriotism nor gratitude could resist.

Regarding the new order from a purely ecclesiastical point of view, it is easy to imagine a body of "Princes of the Church," exercising individually a munificent patronage of the Christian virtues, each a centre for the attraction of Christian merit; their homes nurseries for learning, self-denial, truth, humanity, and purity of life; their incomes the unfailing resource of misfortune, and their power the safeguard of justice. But there was an obverse to the medal: the consequences to be apprehended from surrounding a sacerdotal oligarchy with worldly allurements were the diminution of the religious sentiment and the preponderance of a worldly policy. However strictly the priest may have lived, the cardinal, enjoying the luxurious life of a prince, could scarcely avoid forgetting the ascetic in the man of the world.

Very highly to the credit of a few, they have not permitted the cardinal virtues to remain entirely unknown in the cardinal households; but in the many the inevitable necessity of their existence as courtiers was the development of habits and principles that were antagonistic to simplicity of life

and purity of morals. The best of them have become eminent administrators, distinguished scholars, able diplomatists, and clever statesmen; but these are strictly lay qualifications. It needed not the creation of a higher order of the priesthood to bring them forward. They indicate, too, a devotion to mundane pursuits, not in character with the presumed heavenly aspirations of those privileged to stand nearest to the professed "Vicar of Christ upon earth."

Judged as important parts of a marvellous machine, the institution of cardinals approaches in effects the fulcrum needed by Archimedes to move the world, and by its assistance the papal lever has more than once been successfully employed in worldly movements of prodigious force and duration. There appear, however, to be influences at work that threaten its destruction; but this cannot take place till the occurrence of one or two contingencies —till by the predominance of the republican element, society crushes it as an aristocratic institution at variance with the democratic idea of liberty, or the jealousy of royal and imperial power causes it to be abolished as an intolerable interference with royal and imperial prerogative.*

The cardinals derived an income out of the

* Mazzini and Garibaldi have been labouring, and will continue to labour, to produce the first; and the emperor of the French and the king of Italy were reputed to be desirous of the latter. Napoleon III., however, has proved that the belief in his anti-papal interposition was without foundation. Fortunately for the Papacy, these influences are antagonistic, and when one menaces the institution, the other must interpose for its defence. It was to such antagonism that Pio Nono owed his restoration to his pontificate when the democratic influence had succeeded in making Rome a republic, and in decreeing the abolition of the papal rule.

pontifical revenues; but they added to it by accepting agencies for wealthy persons in other countries who wanted favours from the Pope. Richard of Devizes states that the bishop of Chester having expelled the monks of Coventry, appropriated a portion of their possessions to certain cardinals of the Apostolic See, appointing them and their canonical successors in the same titles to be canons of the church of Coventry, giving as a reason that if any delay should occur in the Pope's settlement of his causes, he should have retained the whole court in his defence.*

Pope Gregory VII. had, after all, gained little for the Papacy by his contests with the secular power; but that little sufficed to show other aspiring churchmen the right road to spiritual supremacy. The fame of Gregory spread to far-distant monasteries and remote schools, where ardent youths were preparing for the clerical profession; and his example induced many to turn their faces towards the Eternal City, with the hope of sharing in the ecclesiastical greatness there dispensed. Monks laboured incessantly as collectors for the papal exchequer, and students burned the midnight oil over abstruse volumes, that they might gain the notice of those priestly magnates whose notice was fortune. With continental divines the exalted position of the cardinals had been the great incentive to exertion; it must now be shown that England was ready to enter into competition with the most favoured nations for the same honours.

It may here be stated, that though the Princes of the Church have been historically and biographically

* "Chronicle," section 84.

described, those of English origin have been treated with marked neglect. Even by English writers they have been little more than catalogued, with one or two notable exceptions; while the most insignificant Italian who attained the dignity has been considered worthy of a separate Italian work; and the French and German ecclesiastical historians have been equally attentive to the claims of their compatriots in the Sacred College. National partialities and prejudices have of course much to do with the prominence thus accorded to particular individuals; but there can be no difficulty in proving that the English cardinals possessed as good claims for literary distinction as their more favoured colleagues.*

* A tolerable library might be collected of Italian works devoted to this subject. Among these we can only find space to enumerate Paolo Cortesi, "Del Cardinalato;" Girolamo Garimberti, "Vite di alcuni Cardinali;" "Nomenclatore di Cardinalati;" Palazzi, "Fasti dei Cardinali;" Onofrio Parovinio, "Romani Pontefici e Cardinali creati da loro;" Giannantonio Petramellara, "Continuazione dei Papi e Cardinali;" Girolamo Plato, "Dell' Officio e Dignità de' Cardinali;" Antonio Sandero, "Elogj de' Cardinali;" Giancarlo Stadel, "Cronologia dei Papi e Cardinali;" Giuseppe Tamagna, "Origine e Prerogative dei Cardinali;" Gianandria Tria, "Dell' Offizio e Dignità de' Cardinali." Besides histories of noble families and separate biographies almost innumerable. To these must be added "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa," scritte da Lorenzo Cardella. In Roma, 1792. The French have also added copiously to this department of literature, particularly Anthony Aubery, whose bulky memoirs of Richelieu and Mazarin followed the five quarto volumes of his "Histoire Générale des Cardinaux," 1642. German literature is singularly rich in ecclesiastical history; but the work specially illustrative of this subject is Raft's "Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte aller Cardinale," 4 vols., published in 1768. We must not omit the Latin folio of the studious Spaniard Alonzo Chacon, better known by his Latinized name Ciaconius, "Vita et res gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium, &c.," 1630.

Book the First.

ENGLISH CARDINALS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR, CARDINAL-LEGATE.

The Benedictines of St. Alban's Abbey—Childhood of Nicholas Breakspear—Learned Monks—Sporting Monks—Ordericus Vitalis—English and Foreign Schools—Rise of Cambridge—Nicholas at Paris—Celebrated Teachers—Nicholas at Arles—becomes Abbot of St. Rufus—Rebellion of the Monks—is elevated by the Pope as Cardinal Bishop of Albano—Nicholas at Rome—appointed Apostolic Legate to Norway and Sweden—his Mission there—returns to Rome—is elected Pope.

ANOTHER generation had sprung up since the Anglo-Saxon nation had endured the merciless penance to which it had been doomed by Popes Alexander and Gregory, and their condition had been gradually ameliorated, when a boy belonging to a family of the better class living obscurely in St. Alban's, attracted the attention of the monks of the neighbouring abbey. These fraternities generally selected lads of good appearance and promising disposition to fill trifling duties in their service, and in return for assistance in the choir, or at the altar, had them carefully instructed and prepared for the priesthood.*

* Florence of Worcester, Eadmer, and several of the ecclesiastical worthies of the twelfth century, were of the same race, and

The boy was Nicholas, son of Breakspear, apparently, by the patronymic, an Anglo-Saxon soldier of fortune. Some writers assert that he was of noble birth; but that the invaders had robbed him of his heritage, and that he had then maintained himself probably by labour.

The various biographers of Nicholas Breakspear differ considerably in their accounts of his childhood. Matthew Paris makes him the son of Robert de Camera.* William of Newburgh adds, that the latter was a poor scholar.† Matthew Paris, Leland,‡ and Bale§ give him the name of Breakspear, latinized into Hastifragus. According to Camden, he was born at Langley, near St. Alban's.‖ Of that famous abbey his father had become a monk. The son desired to devote himself to the same vocation, but was rejected by the abbot for not being sufficiently instructed. William of Newburgh acknowledges that he frequented the school of the monastery, but that, as his father constantly reproached him for his idleness, he resolved to try his fortune elsewhere.¶ Bale asserts that he was rejected on account of his being illegitimate.

were similarly nurtured.—*See* Wright, "Biographia Britannica Literaria," Anglo-Norman Period.

* "Vit. Abb. S. Alban.," i. 66.

† "De Rebus Ang.," lib. ii. c. 6.

‡ "Comment. de Scriptor. Brit.," i. 220.

§ Baleus, "De Scrip. Brit."

‖ "Britannia," i. 365.

¶ "Ille vero adolescentiam ingressus, cum propter inopiam scholis vacare non posset, idem monasterium quotidianæ stipis gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit verbisque mordacibus socordiam ejus increpitans, omni solatio destitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit."—Guliel. Neubrigiensis, lib. ii. c. 6.

Fuller quotes Camden for his authority while stating that Nicholas was a member of the Breakspears settled at Uxbridge, and then insinuates that he was an illegitimate son of the abbot of St. Alban's. Matthew Paris was a monk of that abbey, and clearly states that he was the son of Robert de Camera, who, after his birth, assumed the Benedictine habit. Fuller is very brief in his notice of Nicholas Breakspear, and appears to know nothing of his history, except the great ecclesiastical dignity he attained.*

There is reason to believe that he was the natural son of a priest. His acknowledged obligations to the abbey are at variance with his reported rejection, while his early proficiency in learning proves his application to his studies. Another authority gives a glowing description of his qualities, personal, moral, and mental.† It is therefore natural to suppose that the good fathers were not insensible to such qualifications, and brought him up as their scholar and acolyte, the abbot subsequently assisting him to secure the advantages of a continental education, in accordance with the course pursued with all promising youths.

St. Alban's had important claims to ecclesiastical

* Fuller, "Church History" (Brewer), book iii. p. 89.

† "Erat adolescens corpore pulcher, facie venustus, incessu compositus, ingenio acutus, lingua promptus, eloquio facundus, sermone cautus, judicio jam pene maturus, in actionibus prudens et dexter, moribus urbanus, comptus, elegans, zelo divinæ gloriæ, idque secundum quandam scientiam, plenus, omnibus denique tum corporis tum animi melioribus dotibus ita præditus, ut in eo dona Dei naturam, pietas educationem, judicii maturitas et aliæ perfectiones superarent ætatem."—Pits, "De Illust. Angl. Scriptor."

interest as a Benedictine foundation, re-established by Archbishop Lanfranc, but, according to one of the brotherhood, they had fallen into irregularities that now needed reformation. The monastery was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, and it was Frithric, the patriotic abbot, who made such preparations for defence against the invaders as induced the Conqueror to halt in his career. "Why hast thou felled thy woods?" he demanded of Frithric, when brought a prisoner before him. "I have but performed my duty," he replied fearlessly; "and if all the members of my order had done this, as they might and ought to have done, perhaps thou wouldst not have penetrated so far into the country." *

The nephew of the archbishop became abbot of the monastery in 1077. In 1116 occurred the dedication of the church of the proto-martyr, in the presence of the king and queen, and the festival of the Navitity was kept there by the abbot Richard, who entertained French and Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics of the highest rank, barons and knights, as well as the king and queen, with equal prodigality and splendour.

These religious houses were the nurseries of English literature, where one or other of the learned recluses made a name for themselves in connection with their retreat.† Florence of Wor-

* Speed, "Historie of Great Britaine," 436.

† "Jeoffred, abbot of Crowland, sent to his manour of Cotenham, near Cambridge, Gislebert, his fellow-monke, and professor of holy Divinity, with three other monkes, who followed him into England, being most furnished with philosophicall theorems and other primitive sciences, took their course daily to Cambridge, and having hired a certaine common barn, made open profession of

cester, the earliest of our native chroniclers, was a monk. Herebert, the founder of the cathedral and monastery at Norwich, another great scholar, commenced his career in a Norman monastery. Reginald, an Anglo-Norman poet, was a monk in the Benedictine abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury. Ernulph, a celebrated teacher of grammar and collector of charters, became bishop of Rochester in 1114. Eadmer and Stephen Harding were of the same order.

The latter, a reviser of the Latin text of the Bible, was a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Sherborne. Philip de Thaun cultivated metrical composition with great assiduity. His "Livre des Creatures" is an astronomical treatise, chiefly a compilation; so also is his "Bestiary." The pretensions of both works to science are small; the last serves to show how fabulous was the natural history of the

their sciences, and in a short space of time drew together a great number of disciples. But in the second year after their coming, the number of their disciples grew so great, as well from the whole country as the town, that the biggest house and barn that was, or any church whatsoever, sufficed not to hold them. Wherefore, seperating themselves apart in severall places, and taking the University of Orleance for their forme or pattern, betimes in the morning Brother Odo, a very good grammarian and satirical poet, read grammar unto boyes, and those of the younger sort assigned unto him, according to the doctrine of Priscian, and Remigius his commentator. At one of the clock a most accute and subtle Sophister taught the elder sort of young men Aristotle's logic, after the introduction of Porphyrie, and the comments of Averroes. At three of the clock Brother William read a lecture in Tullie's Rhetoric and Quintilian's Flores; but Master Gislebert, upon every Sunday and Holyday, preached a word of God to the people." —Pet. Blesensis, "ad Hist. Ingulphi." Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch), 1792, i. 136.

time. Another scientific writer was Roger Infans, author of a Latin treatise on the Compotus. Hilarius was a Latin poet, and had studied under Abelard. He often mixed French and Latin, sometimes giving a refrain in the former to every verse in the latter language. Athelard of Bath was a scientific teacher in great repute, and had enjoyed the advantage of extensive travel. He taught the Arabian sciences with such success that Vincent of Beauvais styles him "Philosophus Anglorum."

Probably the Norman scholar best known to Nicholas Breakspear was Geoffrey, who had been invited from Paris by Richard, abbot of St. Alban's, to direct a school at Dunstable, where he composed a Latin legendary play—ludum S. Katherinæ, that was acted by his scholars in sacerdotal garments borrowed from the St. Alban's sacristy. He was elected abbot of St. Alban's in 1119, and died in 1146.

It was not scholarship only that was nurtured in these magnificent institutions; some of them acquiring considerable reputation as schools of art. Building was carried on on a large scale under the exclusive direction of ecclesiastical architects; and not only were mural paintings executed by artists bred in the cloister, but the abbey or monastery often prided itself on the perfection of its scribes and the skill of its illuminators. Classical and religious MSS. were copied with untiring industry; and on books of devotion a marvellous amount of artistic talent and elaboration, considering the infancy of design, was constantly expended.

That the wealthy fraternities contrived to enjoy secular pleasures while under monastic obligations

there cannot be a doubt. Regulations were constantly issued to repress their too prominent inclination for such gratifications.*

The use of monasteries as places of resort for travellers is testified by William of Malmesbury in his description of a religious house founded by Henry I., at Reading, of the Cluniac order of monks, an example of unwearied and delightful hospitality. Guests arrived every hour and consumed more than the brotherhood, who were not less distinguished by their piety than by their liberality. Such were the recommendations of most of these institutions soon after their foundation, and they possessed others no less beneficial and exemplary. Far from being the mere retreats of lazy recluses, they were hives of industry and intelligence—the oases, as it were, in a desert of ignorance. Such were Glastonbury, Fountains, and scores of others that adorned the finest sites in England, and of which nothing remain but the picturesque ruins. Such, too, was St. Alban's, when restored to its original privileges and duties.

Among the learned men who flourished about this time in this celebrated abbey was a monk who bore the name of Nicholas, and became its prior. He

* The prelates and monks sometimes distinguished themselves as ardent followers of the chase. In the extraordinary preserves created by Henry I., all sportsmen were rigorously excluded from Cumnor and Bagley, near Oxford, except the abbot and monks of Abingdon; but the nobler game were reserved for the king's sport, according to his license to that fraternity: "Omnes capreolos quos ibi invenire poterint; tamen cervos et cervas non accipiant nisi mea licentia."—Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch), i. 141.

is stated to have written a Latin treatise, entitled "De Conceptione Virginis;" as favourite a subject with Catholic writers then as now.

The career of such protégés of the Church may be best illustrated by a review of the life of young Breakspear's celebrated contemporary, the ecclesiastical historian Ordericus Vitalis. His father was a married priest—this, by the way, was a period when enforced celibacy on the part of the clergy was becoming a source of violent dissension within Catholic Europe. He quitted France for England, where he settled in a village near Shrewsbury, the priest of which not only baptized his child, but gave him his own name. He received his first instructions from another priest, with whom he remained till his tenth year, when he was sent in the charge of a monk to Normandy, with the object of entering upon a monastic life. He became a member of the abbey of St. Evrault at the age of fifteen. He shortly acquired the favour of the abbot, and was a favourite pupil of the sub-prior; a year later he was permitted to assume the habit and tonsure, when he adopted the name of Vitalis. He was then appointed a subdeacon, and a deacon two years later; becoming a priest, however, not till fifteen years afterwards.

He visited England, collecting historical materials among the archives of some of its noble abbeys, particularly Croyland, and employed himself in writing the history of his church, at the desire of his abbot, to whose successor the first and second portions of the work were dedicated. In the last he included an account of the principal religious

houses in England, with a narrative of the wars of the Normans, to the death of William the Conqueror. About the beginning of his fifth book, he acknowledges that he had been a monk for forty-two years. Then followed a third series, bringing the annals down to 1141: he survived but a few years after this.

The favour conferred upon choristers is described by William of Malmesbury, in his account of Queen Matilda, whom the historian pronounces thoughtless, inducing crowds of scholars, apparently secular as well as clerical, to come from abroad to profit by her prodigality. But the love of music was common to persons of all degrees, in this as well as in other countries. Singing was an attraction in the church service at least a century before Chaucer wrote his characteristic description of "The Wife of Bath," and was cultivated as an accomplishment in almost every portion of Europe.

A modern ecclesiastical historian seems to consider Breakspear's connection with the abbey of St. Alban's mythical, suggested by a title he subsequently possessed;* but his rejection as an aspirant for the Benedictine habit is mentioned by Matthew Paris, in an anecdote referring to a later period of his life.† If his father was one of the brotherhood, the abbot might have entertained grave objections to his entering the order, or even remaining in the vicinity. The feeling amongst orthodox churchmen was very strong against married priests, and the superior may have been

* Milman, "Hist. Lat. Christ."

† "Vita Abbat. S. Alban."

obliged, as far as he could, to respect the decrees of recent popes and councils.

It has been stated that the Conqueror, though he insisted that all students preparing for holy orders should preach the gospel in French, and not in the vernacular, and that all causes should be pleaded in the same language,* he highly commended the kings of the Anglo-Saxon race who had conferred benefits on the Church.† This is easily believed of a Norman who was the Pope's appointed agent in advancing a great enterprise. He forwarded the papal policy, which he made one of subjection to himself in the first instance, and to his employer in the second.

The efforts of the Anglo-Saxons in the cause of education had produced important results; but when the nation began to recover from the violence to which it had been subjected, an impulse of revival in learning as well as in religion made itself manifest. In addition to the old schools, others put in their claim to repute, at Lincoln, at Dunstable, and in London. But however famous were their teachers, the infusion of large foreign element into the population seems to have excited a desire for the advantages open to students at the continental seminaries. Several of these had acquired a wide-spread reputation; such as the establishments at Avranches and Bec, in Normandy. Italy had schools of great repute for theological scholars; while Spain offered initiation into the occult sciences, as the finish of a course of study, at Toledo. But Paris was the

* "Arcainomia," Guliel. Lambarde, 1568, f. 136. Fortescue, "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ," cap. 48.

† Walsingham, 1603, "Fragmenta de Gul. Conq."

popular seat of learning, and the Anglo-Norman youth flocked there in great numbers.

Most of the scholars who flourished in the English monasteries had passed over from the Continent,—the natural result of the still recent conquest; and the superiors of the principal religious houses in England were of the Conqueror's race. French therefore was the language of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, including the court; but religious services were performed in Latin, which was the written and spoken language of scholars throughout Christendom. The children confided to or adopted by the Church early acquired proficiency in speaking, if not in writing it, and with such assistance would find little difficulty in travelling in Europe, particularly if they sought the ordinary resting-places. In this way the road to the great foreign universities was rendered accessible even to wayfarers so ill provided as Nicholas Breakspear is alleged to have been. Our impression, however, is that, as a child of the Church, he was sure of clerical guardianship wherever he went.

We are assured by Leland that he was extremely diligent at the university, and made vast acquisitions in scholarship. Paris at this time was one of the most celebrated schools in Europe, and at the height of its fame for dialectic teaching. A new impulse had been given to controversy by the bold opinions openly professed there; and the mind of intellectual Christendom was being thoroughly stirred by attacks upon some of the most cherished dogmas of the Church of Rome. It was in vain that the papal advocates insisted on faith; the impugners of their instruction as loudly insisted on reason. A

spirit was diffusing itself that made the student impatient of an authority supported only by monkish tradition or papal decretals. Religious had to endure the same scrutiny as philosophical ideas; moreover, there was a growing disposition to challenge the higher pretensions of the Holy See.

About this time Abelard's fame as a teacher attracted people from all parts of Christendom, and his disputations with his former masters, Champeaux and Anselm, though regarded by later and riper scholars as little better than pedantic trifling, then excited general and profound admiration. The school he established at Paris, to which Nicholas Breakspear must have been drawn by its wide-spread reputation, was so well attended, that Guizot assures us in it were trained one Pope (Celestine II.), nineteen cardinals, more than fifty bishops and archbishops, French, English, and German; as well as other distinguished ecclesiastics, such as Arnold of Brescia, who shortly afterwards made a name that stirred the religious world throughout Italy. It has been estimated that his pupils were at least five thousand in number.

A celebrated instructor was William of Conches, in Normandy. He established a school in Paris, and had the honour of including among his scholars John of Salisbury, and the English king Henry II., when Count Henry of Anjou. He taught grammar and natural philosophy. In the preface to his Latin tract "Philosophia," he complains of the state of neglect into which both the Church and its schools had been suffered to fall. This must have been somewhere near the middle of the twelfth century,

when both felt severely the troubles that were disturbing the capital of the Christian world.

One of the most celebrated professors of learning then known was Robert, surnamed de Melun, where he established a school. He had previously been a pupil of the famous Abelard in Paris, where he had also opened a seminary. The most distinguished of his pupils was Thomas à Beckett, who, when primate of England, promoted him to the see of Hereford. As a professor of divinity he enjoyed the somewhat dangerous honour of founding a sect called after him the Robertines. They established their head-quarters on the summit of the mountain of St. Geneviève, and drew down on some singularities in their principles no small amount of ridicule. Robert de Melun, however, was a profound metaphysician, as he proved by his manner of treating the exalted themes included in his "Summa Sententiarum."

In the year 1130, an Englishman, Hugh, abbot of Reading, was elected archbishop of Rouen. He was in favour at Rome, and corresponded with Popes Innocent II. and Celestine II., and other distinguished prelates. He was the author of a theological treatise written in the form of a dialogue, in seven books, much admired for its thoroughly scholastic treatment.

Enough has been adduced to show that English talent was becoming appreciated on the Continent; and that young Breakspear must have met with competitors in the university among his own compatriots, whose example could scarcely fail of stimulating him to exertion. The profession for which he

was destined offered tempting rewards for application; and there is no doubt either of his diligence or of his acquirements. He remained at Paris till an opening offered for commencing the clerical vocation in the south, when he proceeded to Arles.

The young Englishman left the great school of philosophers and churchmen for the land of troubadours and trouvères. That he sought Provence with the object of studying the Langue d'Oc, we are not certain, but he was surrounded by many advantages for mastering its beauties and its difficulties. About this period flourished the great poet and commander William IX., count of Poitou, and duke of Aquitaine, grandfather of Eleanor, queen of Henry II., king of England; and the crusade of 1095, in which he had figured, was so recent, as to be still filling the land with spirit-stirring memories.*

Provençal poetry had become popular throughout civilized Europe, and princes and prelates rivalled each other in its proficiency. It should be borne in mind that the latter were not only sovereigns in their several dioceses, but often took the field at the head of powerful armaments, and were in other respects as secular in their pursuits as their lay contemporaries.

With the intellectual movement then manifesting itself in Provence, there was a religious movement in which Nicholas Breakspear could not but have

* William of Malmesbury gives a prejudiced account of this eminent Crusader, accusing him of leading a disreputable life after his return from the Holy Land, placing the portrait of his concubine on his shield, and using violence to certain prelates who reproved him for his sins.

been deeply interested. The abuses which existed in the Church of Rome had excited a wide-spread desire for a purer faith; and this led to a denial of the Pope's supremacy, as well as of the higher pretensions of the priesthood.

He entered the monastery of St. Rufus, near Avignon, where his prepossessing appearance, remarkable talent, and strict observance of the rules of the house, so satisfied the brotherhood of his worthiness, that they suggested his taking the habit. In deference to their wishes, he became one of the canons.* As a brother he contrived to maintain the favourable impression he had made, and preserved this popularity till the death of the superior, when they unanimously elected him into the vacancy.

As abbot of St. Rufus, he felt that he had responsibilities as well as duties, and determined to respect them. The canons presently found that they were unable to influence him in the manner they had anticipated. He was now the master, no longer the brother of the order. He rebuilt the edifice, and remodelled the rules. They became dissatisfied with the stringency of his discipline.

The canons of St. Rufus, like other communities under similar circumstances, on finding that they could not be permitted to lead the indulgent life they had anticipated, grew turbulent and rebellious. They soon wanted to get rid of their once popular brother. They made the discovery that he was a foreigner, and having conspired together as to the best mode of ejectment, invented grave accusations against him to the Pope. Eugenius III. was not unfamiliar

* Guliel. Neubrig., "De Rebus Anglicis."

with unmanagable fraternities. He penetrated the motives for these charges, and became aware of their falsehood. He sent the canons back to their convent, and declared the innocence of their abbot. Dissatisfied recluses were not in the Middle Ages easily reconciled to the endurance of a grievance, real or imaginary. They brought more heinous charges against him. He again repaired to Rome, where his moderation, piety, modesty, and talent were appreciated by Eugenius. The Pope turned upon the malcontents.

"I know, brethren," he said mildly, "where the devil takes up his abode, as well as how this storm has been raised. Go and elect a superior with whom you may be willing to live in peace. I will take care that this man shall no longer trouble you."*

Presently the discontented canons were startled with the news that their late abbot had been appointed by the Pope (1146) cardinal bishop of Alba,† the highest distinction in his gift, a marked compliment to his nation, as well as to himself.‡ He was the first Englishman admitted into the Sacred College, and being appointed to the first of the three degrees among these princes of the Church, it proves in what estimation he was held. The promotion was the more honourable, as it must have been caused solely by his merit, and made at a time when the court of Rome was considered the most mercenary in Europe.

* Gulielmus Neubrigiensis.

† By different authorities this bishopric is called Albo, Albano, and Albania.

‡ "Histoire Générale des Cardinaux," par Aubery, i. 168 (1642).

As a cardinal, he shortly made himself as much respected in the Church as he had previously been in the cloister. At a time when might pre-eminently was right, even in ecclesiastical matters, his career contrasts favourably with that of many of his brother prelates. He does not appear to have been either a fanatic or a libertine, an oppressor or a pedant. The traces of his progress that we have been able to discover are impressions left by his own talent and energy.

For two years the cardinal bishop remained with the court, assisting Eugenius in the administration of the Pontificate. It was an arduous time for Pope and cardinals; the atmosphere around them seemed full of peril. Rome was in one of its paroxysms of democratic excitement, and public opinion throughout Europe was taking a shape and a meaning antagonistic to the Papacy.

Nevertheless the city continued the centre of attraction to aspiring churchmen, and many Anglo-Norman prelates found distinction at its court.

Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, nephew of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, visited Rome three times. That he was in high favour there, is evident from his having, on the first occasion (1142), been appointed papal legate, and in that capacity returned to England to hold a synod. His last journey was made in the year 1147, and he died shortly after getting back to his diocese. He employed himself much in building, greatly embellishing and adding a stone roof to his cathedral, erecting three strong castles,—Banbury, Sleaford, and Newark, as well as two monasteries,—Haverholm and Tame. King

Stephen's commanders laid siege to Newark, which they captured after a stout resistance; and the ecclesiastical castellan was consigned to a prison for more than half a year; but after much hard usage obtained his liberation. He was so liberal a prelate that the court of Rome styled him "magnificent."*

If Breakspear had watched the progress of events with anxiety from his safe retirement in the monastery of St. Rufus, the painful interest must have become largely increased after accepting the responsibility connected with his elevation. The position of a cardinal, near the middle of the twelfth century, was sufficiently covetable in the eyes of churchmen. It embodied rank, power, and wealth, or facilities for its accumulation. To one who was something besides a churchman—an enlightened statesman and an accomplished scholar, it possessed peculiar recommendations. It afforded him opportunities for enjoying the most exalted social and intellectual pleasures, of studying closely the policy of the important institution of which he had become an administrator, and of ascertaining the extent and direction of its action upon society. How profitably he employed his opportunities, will be shown in the sequel.

The English cardinal made friends at court in this interval, and so increased the confidence and regard of the Pope, that he was selected from the most trusted members of his privy council for a mission of unusual importance. Notwithstanding the labours of several of his enterprising and zealous

* "Et adeo munificus, ut à curia Romana vocaretur magnificus." —Hen. Huntingd.

countrymen as missionaries in the north of Europe, there were still portions of the great German continent in a state of nominal Christianity. Denmark and Norway had been converted with the sword. The people were still pagans at heart, and the Scandinavian mythology continued to be feared and honoured. Pope Eugenius, knowing how much had been accomplished for the Church in this direction by English missionaries, appointed the cardinal bishop his apostolical legate in that country, to bring the Danes and Norwegians to a right and perfect understanding of the orthodox faith.*

In the year 1152, Cardinal Breakspear set out in the stately fashion permitted to such high functionaries, to fulfil his important but hazardous mission. It appears that, the year before his elevation, ambassadors had arrived in Rome from the sovereigns of those kingdoms, requesting the Pope to arrange their hierarchy, they being at present subject to the metropolitan see of Lund, in Denmark. Eugenius considered their request for archbishops of their own reasonable, but as the arrangement demanded unusual tact and skill, waited till he could send a prelate possessed of elevated character and superior abilities. Probably the important missionary services already rendered to the Church by Clement and Boniface were not forgotten when Nicholas Breakspear was selected.

On his way the cardinal legate visited England. Many changes had taken place during his absence, but the religious houses were flourishing, and the Benedictine abbey that had afforded him shelter in

* Platina, "De Vit. Pontif.," in Hadriano IV.

his boyhood was still exercising its valuable privilege of diffusing religion and intelligence in its neighbourhood. But the friendless youth, who had been rejected by the order on the pretence of inadequate learning, was now the representative of the head of that Church of which the abbot was an inferior dignitary, and for scholastic ability was reputed to have but few superiors in Christendom.

Matthew of Westminster does not mention his arrival in England; but his record for the year is singularly brief, though one event is repeated within a few lines; nor is it recorded by Roger of Wendover, whose notices for the year are not much more copious. In the previous year he mentions that John Papiro, the Pope's legate in Ireland, where four archbishoprics had just been created, had taken the oath of fidelity to King Stephen. The arrival of an Englishman as papal legate would have been detailed at length by every chronicler in the island. We are therefore under the impression that if he landed, he maintained a strict incognito, another prelate possessing legatine authority, being possibly in the country at the time; or the cardinal bishop having no mission there, may have thought privacy necessary or politic.

The English cardinal arrived in Norway in June, and found there a very disturbed state of society, which demanded much prudence and sagacity to tranquillize. Three princes, sons of the late king, were at variance; and the legate saw that his first duty would be to settle their quarrel. He censured the younger and the elder, and supported the other brother, Prince Inge, he being the least to blame,

At last, having effected a reconciliation, he selected Nidaros (Drontheim) for the desired archbishopric, and elevated the bishop of Stavanger as the new primate, including in his jurisdiction the Hebrides, the Shetland Islands, and the western coast of Scotland, which remained part of this Norwegian see for about two centuries. They had previously formed portions of two British episcopates, whose possessors were suffragans of the archbishop of York. The papal legate must have had specific instructions for this transfer;* but it is equally probable that he permitted it, to gratify the Norwegians, whom he was desirous of conciliating, with the object of inducing them to make extensive alterations in their ritual, to bring it in conformity with that of Rome, as well as to get them to agree to the general tribute, Peter's Pence.

His labours did not end here. His urbanity, benevolence, and wisdom established so comprehensive an influence over the very turbulent population, that they accepted a law which disarmed all except the king's personal guards.† Ultimately he became very popular, and when obliged to leave the country to proceed with his mission, all ranks flocked to him with presents, as memorials of their respect and affection.

Thence the legate proceeded to Sweden. Here he held a synod at Singkopin; but as this clerical assembly could not be induced to agree respecting the proposed metropolitan, the cardinal legate cut short the hot discussion by consecrating Bishop

* Münter, "Kirchengeschichte v. Danemark und Norwegen," Buch ii.

† Torfœus, "Hist. Rer. Norw.," pars iii. lib. 9.

Henry of Upsala. Here again he had difficult ground to tread in maintaining the celibacy of the clergy, and in exacting the inevitable Peter's Pence; but he triumphed over all difficulties, and won the admiration and esteem of the Swedes by the exercise of those virtues which had gained him the love of the Norwegians.

He had still the most difficult part of his mission to perform. He had gratified two kingdoms at the expense, it might be thought, of the third, at least of the Danish archbishop, who had been shorn of his honours. The English cardinal legate now paid a visit to him at Lund, and reconciled him to the loss of his power by increase of dignity. He was invested with an honorary office quite as acceptable as that of metropolitan.*

While engaged in arranging the usual reciprocity, a war broke out between King Sweno III. of Denmark and Prince John, youngest son of Swercus, king of Sweden and Denmark, provoked by an act of outrageous violence by the former, a reckless profligate, on female relatives of the latter, who was as vindictive as he was proud. The English cardinal made extraordinary efforts to reconcile the belligerents without effect. Both parties were signally punished. The young libertine was shortly afterwards killed in a riot; the king, his father, who had supported him, suffered a terrible defeat in Finland, and King Sweno was assassinated by two of his disaffected nobles.†

The mortality of the pontiffs was constantly on

* Münter, "Kirch. v. Danem. und Norw.," Buch ii.

† Johannes Magnus, "Hist. Goth.," lib. xxiii. cap. 17.

the increase; a few years only comprised the extent of their rule; many survived their elevation only a few months, some were carried off in a few days. Innocent, Celestine, and Lucius, had a brief career; that of Engenius lasted more than eight years; nevertheless, the moral of their fate did not deter ambitious churchmen from trying to tread in their steps. To be a cardinal was the ambition of the prelate; to be a pope was still more the ambition of the cardinal.

Nicholas Breakspear had ventured into the dangerous whirlpool, and beheld it suck in two more victims,—Eugenius and Anastasius. As a cardinal, and a member of the Sacred College, he became both a spectator and an actor in the moving drama then in course of performance in Rome.

After six years' absence in the north of Europe, he returned to Rome, where the fame of his brilliant success had preceded him. His kind friend was dead; the chair of St. Peter had been filled by Anastasius for more than a year; but the Princes of the Church received him with open arms. Several had been in communication with him, or had officially been made aware of his labours to advance the interests of the Holy See. He was warmly welcomed: the estimation in which he was held by his brother cardinals was presently manifested in a singularly striking and honourable manner. After a few days, Pope Anastasius died, and the conclave immediately elected as his successor, the English cardinal. This occurred in November, 1154.*

* Gulielmus Neubrigiensis, "De Rebus Angl.," Dec. 4, N.S.

There were at one period four different methods of election. The cardinals simultaneously cry out the name of their choice—this is called electing by *inspiration*. In case of difficulty in coming to a decision, one or more members of the college might be nominated to make the selection—this was electing by compromise. The usual course is for each cardinal to write his name with that of the individual for whom he desires to vote; and one of the body is appointed to examine the billets and state the result. Unless a competitor is found to possess two-thirds of the votes, there is no election: this is electing by *scrutiny*. There is another mode, by which each cardinal may alter his billet. This continues till the proper majority is reached, and is called electing by access. When the result is declared, the written papers are set fire to, to prevent disputes.* After the choice has been declared, the Pope receives what is called the adoration, or homage, of each member of the conclave; all embrace and kiss him, then inquire the name he would choose to assume. The change of name was rendered imperative in consequence of the patronymic of some former pontiff having been too undignified for so exalted a position.

The windows of the apartment are closed up during the election, to prevent communication; but when the pontifical appellation has been fixed, one of the cardinals breaks open a window, and in Latin

* "Cérémonial de Rome," in "Supplément au Corps Diplomatique," tom. v. p. 48. Tamagna, "Origine e Prerogative dei Cardinali." Plato, "Dell' Officio e Dignità de' Cardinali."

announces the result to the crowd waiting in the street.*

Great acclamations usually follow; the Romans are in a state of the utmost excitement, and wait with impatience the appearance of their ruler, who is carried out of the conclave in the pontifical chair, and borne through the streets to the Christian Basilica, or church of San Pietro, in the midst of all the ecclesiastics in the city. The populace are enthusiastic in their rejoicings, and the voices of the clergy join in an energetic *Te Deum* till they deposit their burthen at the grand altar, where the new pope is enthroned. He has subsequently to celebrate mass, on which occasion he is preceded to the same altar of the same church by the Master of the Ceremonies, bearing in one hand a lighted taper on the top of a reed, in the other another reed, surmounted by a piece of tow—who kneels in front of the Pontiff. As he ignites one by means of the other, and as it quickly burns out, he cries, in Latin, "Holy Father, so fades the glory of the world." This is done to remind the possessor of such extraordinary grandeur, of its evanescent character, that earthly pride may not influence him. He now proceeds through the service; on the conclusion of which he is conducted to the entrance of the church, where two cardinals place the triple crown, or tiara, on his head, in sight of the people. He confers his

* This seems to have originated with Sergius II., A.D. 844. "Sunt qui Sergius primo quidem *Os Porci* appellatum fuisse dicunt, et ob turpitudinem cognomenti *Sergii* nomen sumpsisse: eamque consuetudinem ad nostros manasse; ut qui pontifices crearentur, morum omisso majorum nomine, sibi indicent, licet ab omnibus non sit observatum."—Platina, in Vita Sergii.

benediction on them, and then can retire to his pontifical residence.

The grandest part of the ceremonial is when all the distinguished and wealthy Romans, including any visitors of rank who may be attracted by the spectacle, join in doing honour to the new pope, as he proceeds through the principal thoroughfares to take possession of his dominions. He stops at the great door of the church of San Giovanni Laterano, and is conducted to a marble chair by the prior and canons. Out of it he is now lifted by two or more cardinals, chanting, "He raiseth the poor from the dust," &c., to remind him of his humble origin. Having received this lesson with becoming humility, he enters the church, and prostrates himself at the grand altar. Here he is invested with the insignia of his ecclesiastical rank, and, having reached the chapel, receives the homage of the principal personages, lay and clerial: the former kiss his feet, the latter his hand. Then the prelates offer their congratulations and receive an acknowledgment; the cardinals getting each one gold coin and two silver ones, the bishops one silver coin only. This having concluded, the procession proceeds to the palace of Constantine, where the Supreme Pontiff is considered to take possession of the Holy See. After a sufficient rest, he returns to the apostolic palace as before, through streets strewn with flowers, lined with tapestry, and profusely decorated with banners, triumphal arches, and every possible demonstration of a general festival.

Though the Supreme Pontiff might consider himself greater than the greatest potentate on

earth, he has constantly to undergo humiliating observances. On Holy Thursday he is obliged to wash the feet of certain poor persons, and kiss them; while on Good Friday he exposes his own feet naked, crossed, for the adoration of poor and rich. In all documents he must commence with the acknowledgment that he is "Servant of the servants of God." For such humility most of them had an ample recompense in the more than regal state in which they contrived to surround themselves, and the more than imperial authority which they frequently assumed.

Even in the time of the English pope, the assumption of omnipotent power had become conspicuous, though not put forward so offensively as it was in a succeeding generation; and Adrian IV., as we shall show, did not suffer the pontifical pretensions to be kept inactive.

CHAPTER II.

THE ENGLISH POPE, ADRIAN IV.

Religious Opinions in opposition to the Papacy—Arnold of Brescia —Roman Republicanism—Pope Adrian coerces the Romans —Barbarossa marches on Rome—Fate of Arnold—Interview between the Pope and the Emperor—Spirited Conduct of Adrian—William, King of Sicily—Papal Pretensions—Henry II., King of England—His Embassy to the Pope—Adrian and the Abbot of St. Alban's—John of Salisbury—Bull conferring Ireland on King Henry II.—Peter's Pence—Justice of Pope Adrian—His efforts to unite the Greek and Roman Churches—State of the Anglican Church—Adrian opposes Barbarossa—His sudden Indisposition and mysterious Death—His Funeral.

WE have already intimated that during the period of Nicholas Breakspear's career, society was much agitated by controversies on doctrinal points, that disturbed not only Rome, but a considerable portion of Catholic Europe. More than once, a decided disposition had displayed itself in the direction of reform. Flagrant abuses had become obnoxious to purer minds and nobler spirits, and voices were heard from various ecclesiastical sources admonishing or denouncing the worst offenders. Another cause of great scandal were the intrigues of rival pretenders to the keys of St. Peter; for in more than one memorable instance, no sooner had a majority of the College of Cardinals elected one pope, than the minority elected another. Then followed the worst possible evils, in the eyes of pious Catholics,

that could be produced by the zeal of the partisans of either.

We refer to the election of 1130, when Cardinal Gregorio became Pontiff, with the title of Innocent II.; but Pedro Leoni, the grandson of a Jew banker, had used prodigally the means at his disposal for obtaining supporters, and succeeded in securing his elevation to the same dignity, assuming the name of Anaclete II. Far and wide he unsparingly employed the same means of gaining friends, and with such success, that the legally elected Pontiff was driven out of Rome, and shortly afterwards out of Italy. He was safe when he had entered France, where he was not only supported by the sovereign, Louis VI., but by several exemplary eccclesiastics, including two of the most popular abbots, Peter of Cluny and Bernard of Clairvaux.

He did not long remain undisturbed by Anaclete, then in the full exercise of the functions he had usurped, and largely supported by the Italian clergy and laity; but first in the French cities his adherents fell off, and then in those of Lombardy. At last a synod held at Pisa, in 1134, ratified Innocent's election, and the emperor Lothaire undertaking to be his champion two years later, he reestablished his power at Rome.

Even when his rival died, in 1136, Innocent was not permitted to perform the duties of his high office unchallenged, for the well-bribed friends of the defeated Anaclete ventured to appoint a successor. In 1139, the decision of a Lateran council put an end to the grievous scandal.

A feeling of opposition to the temporal power of

the Pope made itself manifest about the same period. One of the ablest of its exponents was Arnold of Brescia. He it was who directed public attention to the worldly-mindedness of many professors of religion, and insisted that the wealthiest among them should surrender their riches, and live after the apostolic pattern. His discourses, backed by a life of rigid self-denial, produced so powerful an impression wherever they were heard, that Innocent II. caused his banishment from Italy. This severity was not approved of by the population of Rome, who had continually shown signs of impatience of papal influence. A republican movement was commenced, that menaced the temporal power of the Pope. While it seemed in process of extinction, Innocent II. died.

This event took place in the year 1143, and Cardinal Guido was without loss of time decorated with the tiara. As a friend of the popular reformer, his rule was accepted without opposition; but the pontificate of Celestine II. lasted but six months, and his successor, known as Lucius II., not inspiring the same confidence, the Romans once more insisted that the dominion of the Pope should be exclusively spiritual, and renounced obedience to him as their sovereign lord. This Pope, at the head of his cardinals and a moderate escort, marched into Rome; but a shower of missiles from his refractory subjects dispersed the *cortége*, and prostrated the Pontiff. A blow on the forehead terminated his pontificate, 25th of January, 1145. A Roman republic was now established, which began its political career by inviting another emperor of Germany to their city, as

they said, to give laws to the world,—an extent of imperial authority that could not be expected to harmonize with their own antagonistic pretensions.

Much that is in the highest degree suggestive may be gathered from a comparison of the public opinion of the Romans about the middle of the twelfth century and the public opinion of their descendants in the third quarter of the nineteenth. There will be found a singular repetition in most of its prominent features. With the same impatience of priestly domination, exist similar aspirations after the re-establishment of a Roman republic, and with a like stern determination to get rid of a clerical aristocracy, is found a yearning after an independent position among the Italian states.*

The successor of Lucius was the abbot of St. Anastasius in Rome, who took the name of Eugenius III. To him the chair of St. Peter proved so uncomfortable a seat, that he fled from his dominions

* Italian unity, though much talked of, has not yet become an accomplished fact, and the descendants of the Romans who invited the army of one emperor were lately looking for a realization of their ideas of independence as a sequence to the withdrawal of the army of another, who played the part of a protector to Italy with more substantial effect. It is not one of the least surprising of these later changes, that the rule thus specially invited by republican Italians, after establishing itself absolutely over the fairest portion of the peninsula, should, by the force of events, have been withdrawn from the soil, that one united Italy should be governed by an Italian sovereign. Another sovereign, though ruling only over the Pontifical States, presents a difficulty in the way of the proposed unity that, if overcome, must be by very different means than those so injudiciously had recourse to by "the Senate and Roman People," as they styled themselves when they addressed their invitation to the emperor Conrad III.

the following year; soon, however, finding ample employment there in organizing a new crusade against the Saracens in Syria, who had recently provoked the chivalry of Europe by their successes over the Christians in that part of the East. This proved a new awakening of Catholic zeal; but though it was far from successful against the infidel, it did such good service to the expatriated Pope, that, aided by the reigning king of the Sicilies, he was enabled to return to Rome,—not however to find obedient subjects, for their opposition to his temporal power lasted till his death in 1153. Arnold of Brescia had contrived to establish an authority at Rome that successfully defied that of the Pontiff. The citizens regarded him as their ruler, and were obedient to him alone. It was at this time that the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, wrote his satirical description of the Romans, which he subsequently introduced in a work written at the request of Pope Eugenius III.*

The abbot of Clairvaux attained extraordinary reputation in Europe for his sanctity, and assumed the duty of papal tutor, scolding and dictating with equal freedom the occupant of the chair of St. Peter, and admonishing or abusing all and sundry who were not as zealous churchmen as himself. One of his least justifiable interpositions was in opposition to William, archbishop of York, against whom, without the slightest ground, he brought accusations of a very terrible nature, and Eugenius III., who was subservient to the popular abbot, deposed him. The noble character of the archbishop gave the lie

* "De Consideratione," lib. iv. cap. 2.

to these charges, and King Stephen spiritedly supported him in his see. So little did these dark accusations affect the English prelate, that he subsequently regained the favour of the court of Rome, and, after death, received the honour of canonization.*

When Nicholas Breakspear was elevated to the dignity of cardinal bishop he become a part of the Papacy, and considered himself bound to support it in its integrity. Its opponents therefore gained no assistance from him; he had sympathy neither with imperial autocrats, with Roman democrats, nor with religious enthusiasts; he had taken service with the Church, had been liberally recompensed by her, and in gratitude must support her cause against all assailants. This thoroughly English fidelity made him hostile to the proceedings of Arnold and his Roman supporters, though not with such intense theological antagonism as characterized the opposition of St. Bernard. When the ardent reformer appeared in Rome in the pontificate of Lucius II., and a civil war raged in the capital of Christianity between the aristocracy and the democracy, he must have regarded the conflict with aversion. His patron was assailed by the same agitation, and he could not but tender him his cordial support. Pope Eugenius contrived to overpower the restless spirit of the people and their orator by a judicious mixture of moderation and firmness; but when the English cardinal became the English pontiff, he (Pope Adrian) resolved to cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty by one sharp and decisive blow.

Shortly after his elevation there ensued one of the

* Butler, "Lives of the Saints." "Fasti Eboracenses."

customary civic tumults, in which the cardinal of San Pudenziana, while proceeding to pay the Supreme Pontiff a visit, was set upon and killed. Adrian, stirred by the provocation, hastened for safety to Viterbo, whence he laid the city under an interdict,* —a measure that appalled the republicans. All religious services as well as processions were suspended; the numberless priests were occupied only in denouncing the irreclaimable sinners, and describing the dreadful punishment which awaited them in the next world. Presently there was a popular reaction that caused the leaders of the people to offer their submission; Arnold was banished, and the Pope having returned to Rome, celebrated his coronation in the church of St. John Lateran with unusual magnificence.

But he had a far more formidable opponent to deal with in the emperor Frederick (Barbarossa), who, with an immense army, descended the Alps into Italy, a few months only after Adrian's

* The interdict in any great city in the Middle Ages must have been an awful visitation. The doom was announced at midnight by the tolling of the bells; after which all the priests of every grade entered the churches by torchlight, the consecrated wafers were burnt, the crucifixes and statues covered, the relics deposited in the crypt, and the papal legate, or other exalted ecclesiastic, in penitential mourning, proclaimed the dreaded sentence from the altar. Then all left the sacred edifice, and the doors were closed, a priest in black vestments remaining at the porch to appeal to the wayfarers to repent. Baptism was permitted in secret, and marriage might be celebrated in the churchyard. Confession and communion were denied, as well as extreme unction and interment in consecrated ground. Where the people possessed a proper regard for religion, these privations soon became intolerable; moreover, they were a great hindrance to ordinary business.

accession, determined to make short work of papal pretensions that interfered with his own. In the reigning Pontiff he met with an equally imperial spirit. The Emperor seized the provinces bequeathed to a former pope by the Countess Matilda, but kept an ominous silence respecting his intentions on the Papacy, though evidently marching from Tortona in the direction of Rome. Adrian maintained a dignified position at Viterbo, whence he sent an embassy of three cardinals to arrange with Frederick respecting his coronation. The latter is stated to have taken an oath before the cardinals that he would protect the Pope, and had no intention of doing him injury.* They stipulated for the surrender of Arnold, who had been captured by one of his officers. Frederick regarded his prisoner as a dangerous demagogue, and was well pleased to expedite the conclusion of his career. The captive was at once handed over to the prefect of the city, and consigned to his safe custody, in that fatal place of durance, the Castello San Angelo.

He had already been condemned and excommunicated, and in the conviction that he was beyond the pale of the law, very little ceremony appears to have been used in his execution. The accounts of his fate differ, but the most trustworthy state that he was hanged, his body burnt, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber,—his lately devoted adherents standing by supinely, whilst their noblest champion was thus insultingly disposed of.†

* Muratori, "Storia d' Italia," vii. 135.

† Francke, "Arnold von Brescia und seine Zeit." Nicolini, "Vita di Arnaldo di Brescia."

Thus perished Arnold of Brescia, undoubtedly worthier of better clients, followers, and admirers, than these degenerate Romans. He fell a victim to rude justice, it must be admitted; but the crisis was one of great peril to the Papacy; moreover, the papal government was in resolute hands, and actuated by the relentless spirit of a semi-barbarous age.

Though the Romans made no attempt to rescue their once-idolized advocate, they were enraged against the papal government for, in his execution, treating them so contemptuously, and carried their grievances to the Emperor. But Frederick Barbarossa had a thorough contempt for them and their leader. The language in which they addressed the all-powerful sovereign was in the inflated style of democratic orations, and he listened in stern constraint. Suddenly he replied to the astonished representatives of the republic with such a tirade, contrasting his own importance with their insignificance, that they slunk out of his presence completely discomfited.

Adrian still held aloof, his English pride and his English sense in conflict. There was no resisting the argument with which the Emperor had settled the pretensions of the civic deputation. The imperial officers, he said, were the only patricians of Rome; backed by the men they commanded, they were likely to be the ruling senate. At last an English impulse made the Pontiff dash forward, attended by his cardinals, and meet his formidable enemy face to face. He rode to the camp of the German army, and was presently conducted to the imperial tent. When the Princes of the Church had waited in vain to see

the Emperor come forth and hold the rein of the Pope's palfrey while he alighted, they were seized with a panic; all turned rein and galloped away, never stopping till they reached a neighbouring fortress.

Adrian, left with only a few humble attendants, did not trouble himself to look after the recreant cardinals, but unconcernedly alighted. Then the great Emperor condescended to come forth, and all the illustrious prelates, princes, and commanders who had accompanied him from Germany, flocked round to witness this memorable interview between the two greatest men of their time. Frederick bent to kiss the feet of the Pope, and prepared himself to receive the kiss of peace; but, doubtless, in no slight degree to his mortification, the Pontiff drew back. The English spirit was up, and before the wondering spectators, the future senate included, Adrian insisted on receiving all those marks of consideration with which former emperors had greeted his predecessors. These being withheld, he rode off.

The German autocrat stood out for his temporal dignity, and the English pope stood out for his spiritual dignity:* neither would give way. At last the Emperor, doing justice to the courage of the Pontiff, professed to be influenced by the precedents set by his ancestors, rode to the papal camp at Nepi, where Adrian, mounted, awaited his arrival, surrounded by his officers. Frederick Barbarossa leapt from his horse and held the Pope's stirrup as he alighted. All the customary marks of amity and respect were given and received, and the two

* Muratori, "Dissertazione sopra le Antichità Italiane," Dissert. IV.

illustrious men appeared to have become the better friends for their late difference. .

At the suggestion of Adrian, the Emperor set his army in motion, and marched on Rome, 18th June, 1155. He met with no opposition, and contrived to shut out the citizens from an important portion of the capital. He mounted the steps of St. Peter, on the top of which the Pope presented him with the imperial crown, in the presence of and amid the tremendous acclamations of the German soldiers. Their shouts made the Romans aware of what was going on, and, enraged beyond measure at their contemptuous treatment and the loss of the expected imperial donative, as well as a of sight of the imperial show, a little later in the day they broke out in their usual reckless manner, slaying all they met as they strove to force their way to St. Peter's. Here they were opposed by the army of Frederick, who had been disturbed at his coronation banquet. He drove them back with the slaughter of about a thousand, taking two hundred prisoners.

The Emperor removed his camp to Tivoli, where he was visited by the Pope, who performed high mass in full pontifical grandeur, and absolved the army from the sin of bloodguiltiness they had incurred in their late encounter. If the German account be true, that only one German was killed, against the loss of a thousand Romans,* there could have been no resistance, and the conflict must have been a massacre.

Barbarossa accepted Tivoli from the inhabitants; but Adrian insisting upon his rights, he restored

* Otto Frisingensis, lib. i. cap. 23.

the town, with a reservation of the imperial prerogative, which the Pope was not likely to acknowledge. The sagacity, prudence, and courage of the Pontiff had its reward, not only in winning over the dreaded Emperor, who presently retired across the Alps, apparently his sincere friend, but in the submission of the Romans, who succumbed quite as much to their spiritual as to their temporal master. But he was well aware that he had a difficult task to accomplish in maintaining the Papacy against those who desired its overthrow. He first attempted to neutralize the opposition of William, king of Sicily. He carried on a successful negotiation with the Greek emperor, as well as with the petty princes of Apulia. Hearing of these combinations, and that he had been excommunicated by his active opponent, the Sicilian king became tractable, and offered liberal terms, which Adrian gladly accepted. Ultimately, however, a majority of the cardinals, who had been subsidized by the Emperor, entered into so decided an opposition to the proposed treaty, as one injurious to their patron, that the Pope was obliged to recall his consent.

This determined the king to pursue energetic measures. He fought a successful battle with the Greek troops, captured Brundusium and Bari, and marched against the papal forces at Beneventum, where Adrian was staying. The Germanized cardinals now became aware that the terms they had rejected ought to be accepted. Overtures were therefore made to King William. He was still tractable; the original proposal was carried out, by investing him not only with the kingdom of Sicily but

with the duchy of Apulia, the principalities of Amalfi, Naples, Capua, and Salerno, and other possessions, on condition of his swearing fealty, paying a tribute, and undertaking to defend the pontifical territory when attacked.

This arrangement indicated able statesmanship, but it did not meet the approval of the Emperor, who suspected an intention of Italian independence. All the protest he could then make against it took the shape of a prohibition of the German prelates travelling to Rome, even for ecclesiastical purposes, —a heavy discouragement to the papal court, and a considerable loss to the papal exchequer.

The Pope and cardinals were delighted at thus being rid of the dreaded Barbarossa, and put forth startling claims to supremacy. The world were informed that the empire had been bestowed by his Holiness as *bonum feudum*, and were made to understand that all sovereignty could be secured only in the same way. These pretensions were held over the princes of Europe *in terrorem*, as an intimation that they were feudatories of the Holy See, from whom tribute should come—or deprivation follow.

Adrian now found himself placed between two formidable oppositions: there was the Emperor, who scouted the idea of holding his dominions by papal permission, and there were the people of Rome, who could not reconcile themselves to being governed by a priest. So distasteful to German chivalry were the Pontiff's pretensions, that Cardinal Roland was threatened with being sabred for asserting before an assembly at Besançon that the empire was held of the Pope in fee.

Presently the smouldering fire burst into flame. Adrian, with more than the spirit of Gregory VII., united the sagacity of Gregory the Great. The Papacy continued to develop, despite of imperial antagonism. Frederick desired to be a second Charlemagne, and made strenuous efforts to restrain the power he had failed to subdue. He published appeals to the prelates and princes of the empire, complaining of papal exactions, abusing the Pontiff, and threatening his own clergy if they ventured to quit his dominions for the Apostolic See. To these intemperate decrees and manifestoes, Adrian replied in an address to the German priesthood, claiming their spiritual obedience; but the latter stood too much in awe of the formidable Barbarossa, or else were more Teutonic than Roman; for they replied in strict accordance with the ideas of their sovereign.

Taunts and menaces were freely exchanged till the Emperor, chafing under the consciousness that he had a spirit to deal with as bold as his own, prepared for another invasion of Italy, sending forward his chancellor Rainold, and Otho palatine of Bavaria, to make arrangements and receive submissions. The Pope had accurate knowledge of the vast armament organizing on the other side of the Alps, and prudently endeavoured to temporize. He sent two cardinal legates to the imperial camp at Augsburg, who disclaimed and explained with so much skill, that Frederick seemed to be satisfied. The German invincible armada was not quite ready for action; therefore its leader accepted the assurances of the Cardinals Hyacinth and St. Niereus, that the

Pontiff never considered the empire a papal benefice, nor ever had any intention of disposing of it as a papal grant.

Henry II. of England, when apprised of the honour conferred upon his subject, sent an embassy of three bishops, with Robert, abbot of St. Alban's, to congratulate the English Pope. There must have been some knowledge of the Pontiff's antecedents in the mind of the king when he made choice of the abbot of the religious house in which Nicholas had received his first religious impressions, to assist in the mission. Unusual troubles afflicted the reverend travellers. At sea they were overtaken by a storm, and narrowly escaped shipwreck; on land, on their way to Beneventum, they were stopped by robbers, and plundered more than once.

They reached their destination at last, and presented their credentials in the shape of a letter from their sovereign. It must have been a proud moment, when the ecclesiastical adventurer, who had quitted his native country almost penniless, gave audience, surrounded by the Princes of the Church, displaying the insignia of pontifical state to the ambassadors of the king of England; but when he read that monarch's communication, addressed evidently as from one sovereign to another, his pride could not fail of being as fully gratified as his ambition.

The letter was a remarkable one, commencing in the usual form of compliment and good wishes; then in language of studied respect the writer proceeded to state, that since a gracious Providence had transplanted his subject into Paradise, the richness of its soil might be expected to manifest itself in his

state of perfection. He expressed a conviction that his elevation would be for the advantage of Christendom, while his government of the Church must reflect honour on the country that gave him birth.

Apparently with a full knowledge of the conflict of opinion that had been raging in Italy, the king ventured to hope that the tempest in the air, which might bear hardest upon the most elevated situations, would not affect him, and render his pre-eminence the cause of his overthrow. He suggested the election of additional cardinals of acknowledged ability and zeal to share with him the burthen of government. He added sound advice respecting the choice of fit men for so responsible a post, as well as sensible cautions against improper influences in behalf of unqualified persons. He then drew the Pontiff's attention to the lamentable condition of the Holy Land and the Greek empire, and hazarded an assurance that his conduct would be so exemplary, and his government so just, that he would be regarded as a blessing to his contemporaries, while his fame should be cherished by future ages, as well as especially honoured in his native land. In conclusion the Pope's prayers were desired for the king, his court, and his people.*

The English bishops were shown marked attention, and dismissed with honour. The Abbot Robert was detained. He had brought with him a handsome supply of acceptable presents; such as costly mitres, and embroidered sandals worked by a devout prioress, and other ornaments that were equally attractive.

* Baronius, "Annales," sub anno 1154.

"I will not accept them," said the Pope, when they had been placed before him, and duly admired, "because you refused me admission into your order."

"My Lord Pope," replied the abbot, "it would have been flying in the face of Providence to have admitted you. You had been destined for a much higher position."

The Pontiff was pleased with the adroit compliment, accepted the mitres and sandals, and assured the donor that he might ask any favour, for, as an Albanese (bishop of Alba), he must be ever ready to serve St. Alban.*

The abbot found the cardinals quite as ready to receive as he was to give; then having established a good understanding, he made so pitiful a complaint of the conduct of the bishop of Lincoln, that Adrian released his abbey from episcopal jurisdiction. It was to account to the Pope direct. In addition, he conferred on the brotherhood many valuable privileges.

When their superior returned, intense was the gratification of the Benedictines at receiving these very welcome marks of the Supreme Pontiff's consideration. They could not be too proud of his early connection with their house; nor was the abbot ungrateful. He forwarded to the papal court a pair of massive golden candlesticks, which the Pope presented to the altar of the Church of the Apostle, as a memorial of the English proto-martyr, sending Abbot Robert in return relics, a pallium that had been presented by

* "Abbat charissime, audacter pete quod vis, non poterit beato Albano dêsse suus Albanensis."—Matt. Paris.

the Emperor, sandals, a ring, and other ecclesiastical ornaments.*

He gave precedence to the abbot of St. Alban's, though hitherto the abbot of Glastonbury enjoyed that privilege. It was conferred in consideration of his having received his education in the former monastery, and because our proto-martyr had there suffered death.†

Pope Adrian was still more liberal to the king of England, who, like the abbot, had evinced an interest in that pontiff, to secure a favour for himself. Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, had devised his earldom to his second son and namesake. On Henry attending his father's funeral, he was induced to swear to respect the provisions of the will. The secret mission of the bishops was to obtain a dispensation from this oath; and this the Pope granted, on the plea that it had been extorted, as the prince had been obliged to take it to avoid the scandal of leaving his father's corpse unburied. The Pontiff has been blamed for this concession; but the principle on which he seems to have acted—that force of any kind annuls such obligations—is a sound one.‡ Fraud of any kind ought also to annul them; therefore Adrian's predecessor should have absolved Harold from his oath to the duke of Normandy.

So interesting a novelty as an English pope naturally attracted Englishmen to his court; for some he found honourable employments, while others

* Matt. Paris.

† Dugdale, "Monasticon Anglicanum" (Bandinel), 1817, i. 7.

‡ Gulielmus Neubrig., "De Reb. Ang."

he retained as long as he could about his person, enjoying his confidence and receiving his favours. His celebrated countryman John of Salisbury came the first year of his pontificate, sent by Henry II. to negotiate the bull for the appropriation of Ireland.* He was an old friend, and was at once admitted to terms of social intimacy. The Pope began to complain of the troubles attendant upon his exalted office. It seemed that if "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," a triple crown must give more than triple uneasiness. The cushion of his throne was apparently stuffed with thorns, or, to use his own words, all the hardships of his earlier life were trifles to the afflictions of the Papacy. He regarded the chair of St. Peter as the most uneasy seat in the world; and his tiara appeared to have been clapped burning hot upon his head.†

John of Salisbury has received the commendation of innumerable historical antiquaries, as one of the best scholars of his time.‡ He strove to familiarize his readers with the beauties of the classical authors, by introducing select passages into his own works.§ Some have accused him of borrowing from Petronius, but from this charge he has been successfully defended.‖

* The bull of the English pope is dated the second year of Henry II. (1154), and will be found in the original Latin in Rymer, tom. i. p. 15: 1704.

† Baronius, ann. 1154.

‡ Fabricii, "Bib. Med. Ætatis," iv. 380. Baillet, "Jugemens des Savans," ii. 204.

§ Harris, "Philosophical Arrangements," 1775.

‖ Thomasius, "De Plagio Literario," p. 240.

The Pontiff, on one occasion, at Beneventum, questioned him as to the state of public opinion on the court of Rome, particularly with respect to himself. He at once frankly declared that the exactions, the corruptions, and the notorious injustice of the Romish tribunals were rapidly bringing them into general disrepute. He evidently wished for a reformation. The Holy Father listened to this unfavourable judgment, well aware of its truth, but endeavoured to excuse himself from any interference by relating an apologue. He described all the members of the human body united in complaints against the stomach, as an idler, whilst they were obliged to work; and determined to rest that they might starve it into better behaviour. This, he represented, continued till they were thoroughly exhausted. They now discovered that they had withheld from the stomach what had given the whole body life and vigour, renewed their former contributions, and were soon stronger than ever.

"So it is with Church and State," he added; "although these ruling powers require much, they give benefits in proportion. If they were not well supplied, the people would suffer."*

It is doubtful whether such an argument satisfied the mind to which it was addressed. John of Salisbury had had, both in England and at Rome, ample opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of the evils he had referred to. Though Adrian could not bring himself to attempt a correction, he appreciated the advice, and testified his regard for his counsellor

* Joannis Saresberiensis "Polycraticus, sive de Nugis curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum," vi. 24.

by entrusting him with the bull giving Ireland to Henry II.

This precious document was not made public, nor even acted upon at the time. The king of England had, for a considerable period, complications at home and abroad, that demanded immediate attention; and till he had disposed of these, he knew that he could not successfully avail himself of the liberality of his illustrious countryman. Of Adrian's feelings in this transaction we can only judge by the high-flown language of the bull;* but if, when dictating it, he could have looked back upon the early incidents of his life, insatiate indeed must have been his ambition if he were not content with the realization of their brightest promises. The sense of exaltation arising from a contrast between the acolyte swinging a censer in the abbey church of his native town, and the successor of St. Peter in the capital of the Christian world, bestowing a kingdom on his own sovereign, may account for the extravagance of his diction.

Matthew of Westminster states that the inhabitants of Ireland were at this time sunk in brutish ignorance, and that King Henry's desire was to bring them into the true faith.† The pretence was

* Quoted at length by Thierry and several of the English chroniclers and papal annalists.

† Lord Lyttelton has written some pertinent remarks respecting this papal grant of Ireland that deserve consideration; but when he names as an apology for the transaction the barbarity of the country, we cannot admit the allegation as proved, or the excuse as valid. "The land of saints" ought to have claimed some consideration from the successor of the Apostle, and if the labours of his namesake (St. Patrick) were only half as successful as they have

favourably received by Adrian IV., who responded by giving the king permission to possess himself of the territory in any way most agreeable to him, provided he procured the payment into the pontifical treasury of a penny from each house. This Peter's Pence being insisted on as tribute due to the Holy See; Ireland being an island, and all islands which had accepted the Christian faith, it was alleged, belonged to the Church of Rome.

The plea respecting the brutish ignorance of Ireland cannot be maintained in the face of the known fact that only a few years before four archbishoprics had been created for that country; moreover, it possessed a regular hierarchy, and numerous religious establishments. It is just possible that the same cause which excited the anger of Gregory VII., produced a similar effect in his successor. The passage in Adrian's bull respecting the proposal of insuring a penny from each house in the to be conquered island, puts the matter beyond doubt.* In all the unfavourable descriptions of the Irish, their paying no tithes is put forward as a proof of desperate barbarism.†

Although Adrian approved of Henry's design, it

been represented, there ought to have been sufficient religion left in the country to have redeemed it from the papal stigma.—("Hist. of the Life of King Henry II.," v. 59. See also Dr. Thomas Leland's "History of Ireland," vol. i.) Whatever may have been the amount of indifference of the Irish people to the Papacy at this period, it has long since ceased to be a reproach. In no part of the world is the present amiable Pontiff more honoured than by the Roman Catholic portion of Ireland.

* Baronius, sub anno 1159.

† St. Bernard, "De Vita Malachiæ Episcopi," cap. viii. Giraldus, "Topograph. Hibern."

is easy to imagine that patriotic feeling had more to do with the grant than political justice; for when, a few years later, the king of France, Louis VII., sought his approval for a similar scheme of conquest among the Spanish Arabs, he took a statesman's view of the subject, and expressed objections to any interference with the rights of the Christian rulers of the Peninsula.*

The fame of the clemency and wisdom of the English pope spread far and wide, and disputes of all kinds were readily submitted to his arbitration; perhaps the most important was one between the grand master of the order of Knights Hospitallers and the patriarch of Jerusalem. The latter travelled to Rome to bring his complaints before the highest tribunal, and they displayed extremely aggravating conduct on the part of the knights. Adrian was at Beneventum, and gave several days to a careful consideration of the case; but his clear judgment detected exaggeration and falsehood, and he refused to withdraw the privileges the knights enjoyed.†

An idea he had much at heart was the union of the Greek and Roman churches: he opened negotiations with the emperor Constantine, and with Basilius, bishop of Thessalonica, with this important object in view; but though it was admitted that no real difference existed between their forms of faith, and his overtures appear to have been cordially received, the desired approximation and fusion were never attempted. There is little doubt that the Greek prelates generally were actuated by

* Bouquet, "Receuil," &c., tome xv. p. 690.

† Pagi, "Brev. Pontif. Rom.," anno 1154.

jealousy. There could not have been a more favourable moment for reunion, for the frank and conciliatory disposition of this Pontiff would have smoothed all difficulties, and entirely got rid of the anomaly of two ostensibly orthodox churches claiming the right of denying heaven to all Christians not of their communion.

Adrian IV. may be supposed to have regarded with interest the signs of renovation appearing in the Anglican Church. He heard of structures of unequalled beauty in the country rising in various districts—cathedrals, abbeys, churches, ecclesiastical palaces—that were individually as much a marvel as an ornament. He heard of the service of God performed with a splendour that rivalled the continental ritual. He heard of conventual and collegiate foundations on a noble scale multiplying with unexampled rapidity. He heard, too, of churchmen whose learning was only equalled by their piety, and their skill by their munificence. He rejoiced in this evidence of Christian prosperity, and afforded encouragement to every estimable prelate and priest who sought his counsel.

It does not seem, however, that he was liberal towards them in the dispensation of the highest honours in his gift.* There were many claimants with superior influence, and he had to avoid exciting Italian and German jealousy. We may presume that

* Adrian's first creation of cardinals, A.D. 1155, did not exceed seven, his nephew being the fifth on the list. A second creation in 1158 consisted of five; a third, in 1159, was confined to three.—"Vitæ et Res gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium," &c., auctoribus M. Alphonso Ciaconio, &c. Romæ, fol. 1630, pp. 559—563.

these considerations had something to do with the paucity of English cardinals in his council. There were two there; and even at subsequent epochs, when English influence at the court of Rome was greatest, this number was scarcely ever exceeded.

Nevertheless, Anglo-Norman divines and Anglo-Norman scholars were welcomed to Rome, and Adrian's pious countrywomen found an honourable retreat in Italian convents. He contented himself with one of his kinsmen among the Princes of the Church.

William of Malmesbury has left a few commendatory notices of Breakspear's English ecclesiastical contemporaries who were eminent for virtue and learning. These are for the most part Anglo-Norman prelates, such as Serlo, abbot of Gloucester, whose motto was, "Moderation in all things;" Lanzo—prior of St. Pancras, Lewes—of whose death, literally in the odour of sanctity, he gives a graphic account; Godfrey, prior of Winchester, in praise of whose scholarship and humility he is equally fervent. He assures his readers that there were many persons in England illustrious for the same qualities, and apologizes for those less gifted by referring to their exertions to improve the cathedrals and other sacred buildings then in their charge. In some instances their assumption of grandeur and even of military state was carried to such excess as to excite the animosity of the more powerful barons, and led to quarrels and bloodshed, till King Stephen made them surrender the castles they had erected, and seized and imprisoned two or three of the most martial of them.

Many of the spiritual peers made common cause

with the barons in opposition to the Crown; and an ecclesiastical council was held, presided over by the Pope's legate, in which the king was told that the Church alone had authority in church matters. They threatened him with a reference to Rome; but Stephen insisted that the bishops must prove by the canons that they were privileged to hold castles, and showed that, even if this were possible, they would be bound to deliver them in any emergency to their sovereign lord. In reply to their menace, he warned them that if any proceeded to Rome in opposition to him, they might find it difficult to return. The legate and the archbishop of Canterbury at a private interview strove to persuade the king to take pity on the Church; but this alienation of church property was not disturbed.

The Papacy, notwithstanding that its power was constantly opposed both in Italy and Germany, continued to expand under its able administrator, but never exceeded a rational development.

During his dispute with the emperor Frederick, Adrian, about the year 1157, addressed him in the style that Gregory VII. had employed in his communications to crowned heads. The English pope was quite as imperious as the Italian one, and was equally zealous in upholding the dignity of the pontifical office. He lectured the Emperor upon history, assuring him that the Roman dominion was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans, and that the ruler of the latter was not styled emperor till he had been crowned by the apostolic power. He demanded of Frederick, "Of whom do you hold the

'empire? From your own princes you received the dignity of king, by our consecration you secured that of Cæsar;" therefore, he concludes, "through us you govern."

After this high-handed logic, he adds, "Remember what happened in the past. Zacharias promoted Charles to the imperial dignity, and conferred on him the affix 'Great.' He decreed that the king of the Germans should for ever bear the title of Emperor, and remain defender of the Apostolic Chair, with the intention of his bringing Apulia into subjection to the bishops of Rome, to whom it formerly belonged." In the same spirit he tells Frederick that whatever he possesses as emperor, he derives from him as pope, and that as easily as Zacharias transferred the empire from the Greeks to the Germans, he could give it from the Germans to the Greeks. "It is in our power," he concludes, "to bestow it on whom we like. Besides," he avers as an unanswerable conclusion, "we are appointed by God to rule over kingdoms and nations, that we may destroy, pluck up, build, plant, &c. &c."

Assuredly the Papacy was not likely to suffer any diminution of its pretensions in the hands of its English pope. Indeed no one of his predecessors had assumed more stately language, or, what was more to the purpose, directed its affairs with a more stately spirit.

Adrian strove to establish the papal power on a firm foundation—in his own dominions in the first place, and in the governments of Europe in the second. The Roman people, however, were still dreamers of vain dreams of Roman liberty; and

kings and princes were not always disposed to be such obedient sons of the Church as the Church required. The Emperor was known to have his hands full in Germany by neighbouring wars and feuds among the minor princes, and the pontifical system appeared to have a fair chance for development. In 1158, however, it was known that the dreaded Barbarossa had again crossed the Alps with an irresistible army, and Pope and cardinals were in despair. In vain they declared that a clerical error had been perpetrated; it was *bonum factum*, not *feudum*, that ought to have been written in the papal declarations. Frederick thought there were more important clerical errors to be corrected, and reconquered the great cities.

He summoned the Italian princes to a diet at Roncesvalles, and from the ancient laws of Rome drew rules for the government of all Italy. He now saw the policy of favouring the pretensions of the Roman people, against which the Pontiff protested. Another potentate, known as Henry the Lion (duke of Saxony), an ally of the Emperor, was appealed to; but the cardinals entrusted with the negotiation were taken prisoners in the Tyrol, by certain feudal chiefs possessing castles there, who cared less for spiritual than for temporal princes, yet plundered both, wherever booty might be obtained. The robber counts of Eppau were punished by the warlike duke, and their fortresses destroyed; nevertheless the march of the avenging Germans continued through the fairest provinces of Italy, and the hierarchy of the Apostolic Church lived in fearful anticipation of the result of their return to Rome.

Barbarossa did not allow his intentions to be misunderstood when he again found himself undisputed lord of Italy. He disposed of the highest sees without reference to the Pope. His chancellor was appointed archbishop of Cologne; and another favourite, Guido, placed in the more important see of Ravenna. The Pontiff's indignation could not be repressed even by the suggestions of prudence, and he addressed a letter to the Emperor calling him sharply to account. Frederick replied in an insulting and supercilious tone, with as little courtesy as ceremony. This elicited a stinging retort from Adrian, which provoked a more contemptuous rejoinder. Barbarossa ventured to say bitter things against the rapacity of papal legates, and some equally bitter respecting papal pride.*

Adrian seemed to become aware that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones, and gave evidence of his desire to carry on the quarrel in a more dignified manner. He sent an embassy of five cardinals to the Emperor, who was now at Bologna, A.D. 1159, to offer conditions of agreement; among them a request for the restoration of certain possessions and revenues of the Church, which had been seized. Barbarossa at first gave an imperial refusal; then offered to refer all disputes to six cardinals chosen by the Pope and six bishops selected by himself. Adrian possessed a pretty accurate knowledge of the German bishops, but accepted the proposal. Those prelates proved themselves more imperial than their monarch; the papal proposals were rejected, and the Pope accused by

* Baronius, sub anno 1159.

them of violating his engagement with the Emperor by his subsequent treaty with the king of Sicily. Again neither would give way, and the negotiators were preparing to carry on the quarrel as belligerents. Frederick permitted the Roman republicans to enter his presence, and seemed to listen with interest to their ideas of liberty. The Supreme Pontiff endeavoured to stir the Lombards to increased opposition, entered into an alliance with the king of Sicily, and wrote fiery ecclesiastical appeals to the three powerful archbishops of the empire,—Treves, Cologne, and Mayence.

As if to show his contempt of papal approval, Barbarossa now repudiated his empress, to marry a Burgundian princess. This outrage overflowed the cup of bitterness that had been presented to the Pope, and he determined on open war. With this object he prepared a bull of excommunication against the imperial offender. It will be frequently found in the lives of the pontiffs, that on the eve of an important transaction, opposed by some members of the conclave, he is seized with a serious indisposition, that carries him off in a few days. There were several zealous partisans of the Emperor in the papal court, who might look for a rich reward could they contrive to get rid of a troublesome opponent.

In the Sacred College there were equally zealous partisans—equally well bribed—of the king of Sicily, who entered into a confederacy to elect one of their own party to succeed Adrian. It was while he was at Anagni, in perfect health. This anticipatory measure may have instigated the imperialist party to expedite the election. Be this as it may, on

September 1st, 1159, Adrian succumbed to a mortal malady.

Historical writers generally are silent respecting the manner of Pope Adrian IV.'s death, including Platina, William of Newbury, and Leland. William of Tyre asserts that he died of a quinsy. Bale,* on the authority of Joannes Funcius and Pagi, avers that he was choked by a fly getting into his throat while he was drinking. Fuller adopts the same story.† Matthew Paris, however, is confident that the Supreme Pontiff fell a victim to Roman revenge. He had borne in mind the advice of the king of England against unworthy appointments, and was secretly got rid of, to make way for a less conscientious pope.‡ This chronicler was not well informed on Roman affairs; but the absence of any reliable particulars of Adrian's last illness, and the notorious disposition of Italian clerical adventurers for extreme measures, make the supposition of foul play by no means improbable.

When the Emperor's opponent had breathed his last, all parties appeared to wake up to a consciousness of their irreparable loss. In a stately procession his body was brought from Anagni to Rome for interment; and the Romans, whose restless spirit he had kept quiet during his too short pontificate, now paid involuntary homage to his many noble qualities.

* Baleus, "De Scriptor. Britan.," Cent. XII., Appendix.

† "Worthies of England," Herts, 20.

‡ "Vit. Abbat. St. Alban.," 74 :—"Post hos autem paucos dies, idem Papa Adrianus, quia cujusdam parentis civis Romani filium indignum, in episcopum, timore repressus divino, creare et consecrare noluit, præventus insidiis, potionatus, veneno infectus et interfectus est."

The prelates and priesthood felt that they had lost a champion of the Church, impossible to replace at such a juncture. Even the great officers of the Emperor seemed to testify their respect by their presence among the mournful retinue who attended the corpse to its tomb in the Basilica of the Apostle. Foremost were that fiery imperialist Otho, Count Palatine, who had threatened to cut down a cardinal legate at the council held at Besançon, and Guido, count of Blandrada, to whom the deceased Pope had refused the archbishopric of Ravenna. The presence of two such mortal enemies of the Pontiff at his obsequies, immediately after his sudden death, is, at least, curious. The funeral ceremony was an imposing one, the cardinals apparently taking care that it should be worthy of the occasion.

So died, and in this magnificent fashion so was mourned, the Englishman who had won his way by merit to the highest distinction attainable in the profession he had embraced. The intelligence of his demise produced genuine regret in England, particularly among the worthy Benedictines of St. Alban's, who were conscious of having lost a friend; but it has been affirmed that there was one aged woman living on the alms of the chapter of Canterbury, who had more right to be considered a mourner of the illustrious dead than cardinal, prince, abbot, or monk. According to some accounts, she was his mother; and their writers were convinced that he was illegitimate, because of the neglect with which the poor creature was treated—the great churchman, with ecclesiastical consistency, having ignored her existence. It is, however, just possible that the cathedral

dignitaries at Canterbury may have got up this scandal against the patron of St. Alban's; jealousy not unfrequently in religious communities producing results equally malicious.

Adrian IV. during his pontificate of four years and eight months found time to give his attention to extensive improvements in the Lateran Palace, in various churches within and without the walls, and in the neighbouring castles. He neither practised nepotism nor simony, though he advanced one of his kinsmen to a confidential position about his person, and raised him to the rank of cardinal; but he possessed fair claims for the distinction. Adrian is said to have been an author of several works—religious mostly—homilies, a treatise on that favourite subject the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and catechisms of Christian doctrine. But his most important production was an account of his mission to the Swedes and Norwegians,—"De Legatione sua." No historical antiquary has been able to find a trace of either. If they have not perished by neglect, they may exist among the inedited MSS. in the Vatican.

Copgrave, "De Illustribus Henricis," is perversely silent respecting the elevation of Nicholas Breakspear. He quotes the text of his bull granting Ireland to Henry II., and seems content.*

* Johannis Copgrave, edited by the Rev. Francis Charles Hingeston, M.A.: Rolls Publications.

CHAPTER III.

ROBERT LE POULE, CARDINAL AND PAPAL CHANCELLOR.

Variations in Anglo-Norman Names—Le Poule studies in Paris —is created a Cardinal—fills the office of Papal Chancellor —His Duties—Rise of Mariolatry—John of Salisbury's "Polycraticus"—Theological Discussions—Pilgrims to Rome —Relics—Canonization—Penance—Forfeitures—Indulgences and Masses—Dispensations—Insurrection in Rome—Works of Cardinal Le Poule.

THERE is considerable difficulty in identifying the nationality of English scholars about this time, in consequence of their Anglo-Norman appellations. This is the case with Robert Le Poule, whose name has been transformed into Polenius, Polenus, Pullus, Puley, Pullen, and Bullen.* He appears to have studied in Paris, where probably he finished his education. He became a celebrated teacher there. Thence he came to England, as a priest and professor of theology. After a short residence in Exeter, he proceeded to Oxford, where for five years he laboured as a preacher and teacher,—giving much of his attention to the study of the Scriptures. At this university he must have acquired great reputa-

* In Latin he is named Robertus Pullus, or Robert the Chicken, but perhaps, like William of Malmesbury, John of Beverley, John of Hexham, and innumerable others, he derived his appellation from his place of residence, and was Robert of Poole, a flourishing seaport on the Dorsetshire coast.

tion, as his classes contained several distinguished scholars.

His fame reached Pope Innocent II., who in or about the year 1141 invited him to Rome. His successor, Lucius II., appointed him papal chancellor. Poule is mentioned by Ciaconius among the cardinals created by Celestine, as "Robertus Pulley," cardinal priest and chancellor.

There can be no doubt that the English scholar was fully appreciated at the papal court, where he presently found himself placed in a position combining a large amount of confidence with at least an equal share of responsibility. The prejudice which the Anglo-Saxon clergy had excited, was now giving way, as it had been satisfactorily proved that the Anglo-Norman priests were far better adapted for Roman purposes; they were therefore employed in Rome, as well as elsewhere, in giving the great ecclesiastical institution that expansion which Gregory VII. had left incomplete.

It was in this century that the costly machinery of Roman justice was brought into working order, though additions were made to it in subsequent pontificates, till the wheels within wheels completed the most complicated apparatus ever devised for the multiplication of fees. The system was indeed a marvel of ecclesiastical engineering, and could extract revenue out of every possible contingency within its influence. Pluralities, Dispensations, Reservations, Provisions, Commendams, and Annates, were its most profitable operations. Adrian IV. appears to have employed its powers in moderation, and satisfied himself by giving recommendations for

preferment. His successors issued mandates. The English pope was content with indicating a qualified person to fill a vacancy; the Italian, German, and French pontiffs, as will be shown, generally insisted on their right of appointing any one.

The Roman Chancery was the centre of papal administration, whence all bulls, briefs, appeals, and negotiations proceeded. When the business increased, a second office, called the Dataria, was instituted, that had the management of the succession to benefices, the grants, gifts, &c. Besides the Chancellor, there was a corrector of the papal letters, called "Protonotarius" and "Primecerius." A college of Abbreviators, seventy-two in number, included the Plumbator, who fixed the leaden seal; the Taxatores, who priced the charge for the document; and other officials; the higher dignitaries wearing the violet robe of a bishop. In addition, there were three courts of justice,—the Rota, the Signatura Justitiæ, and the Signatura Gratiæ.*

The duties of the Pope's chancellor must have given Cardinal Le Poule a thorough knowledge of papal affairs. He was the head administrator, and as a matter of course thoroughly acquainted with the machinery of government. Government at Rome, however, differed materially from government elsewhere. The management of the Pontifical States formed but an item in its duties. The management of the entire Christian world was included, and this was not confined to spiritual concerns; on some pretence or other, affairs purely

* Eichhorn, iii. 511, note. Milman, "Latin Christianity," vi. 312.

temporal had to be managed, often with very little respect to national institutions. Considerations of policy would cause favour to be shown to particular governments, and rival interests in Europe would have to be balanced; but this was invariably done in favour of the Holy See. The chancellor, wherever he directed his attention, must secure a profit for the establishment to which he belonged.

In foreign affairs there was in the first place to be considered the prosperity of the Church in every kingdom, and this was only to be satisfactorily proved by the amount of money contributions the faithful in that part of the world paid into the papal exchequer. It was a primary object to have in each country reliable agents for collecting and increasing this revenue, and churchmen who afforded convincing proofs of devotion, no matter what their nationality, were given valuable ecclesiastical preferment, and placed in a position in which their zeal could be turned to profitable account. When the people or their ruler seemed lukewarm, a pretext was easily found for sending a nuncio, or other officer, whose chief business it was to excite Catholic liberality among all classes.

In every country there were, besides the regular clergy, a number of religious communities rising into importance. The elder orders possessed priories and abbeys, the head of each being usually a spiritual peer, as well as a military servitor of the Crown. Whatever they were bound to do for the king, they could not neglect their duty to the Pope, the first article of which was to make every possible pecuniary sacrifice to maintain the papal revenue. The

demands were frequent, the claims excessive; but the advantage of the Apostolic Church was the excuse, whether a great mission was to be founded, a magnificent building erected, a persecution of schismatics organized, or a crusade against the infidel commenced.

The cardinal chancellor realized the familiar proverb of the necessity of doing at Rome what Rome did, and his administration of the affairs of his department was necessarily after the Roman fashion. The Catholic institution was rendered profitable where all charity is said to begin; the cathedral or palace became a new source of church income; the punishment of heretics invariably included a forfeiture of goods; and the wars so eloquently preached against the Mahomedans were intended to benefit Rome quite as much as Jerusalem. He shaped his course accordingly, and the Sacred College did not contain a more efficient member of the Pope's government.

An important motive power was coming into force in the shape of a desire to glorify the Virgin Mary. It originated a mission for establishing a grand festival to do honour to what was styled her Immaculate Conception; and enthusiastic priests, generally members of monastic orders, were actively employed preaching this new article of faith. It was scarcely possible for a religious idea to be presented to the apprehension of the ignorant in a more attractive shape. What could appear more natural to such minds, than that the mother of God should possess as miraculous an existence as her divine child? That she should have been born without sin seemed essential to her power of giving

birth to a son whose humanity was to be God incarnate. It was easy to get the commonalty to adopt this deduction; and from it there could be no difficulty in leading the mind on to accept the conclusion that the parent was equally deserving of glory as her offspring. Human obligations to the mother of the Saviour of the World were enforced upon the better classes; the men adopting it out of a chivalrous regard for the sex, the women as a recognition both of the honour of motherhood and of the distinction of virginity.

The necessity of such a festival was acknowledged by a council held at Lyons; but several esteemed preachers pronounced the idea extravagant. Prominent among these was the celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux, who combated the theory of the Immaculate Conception by asserting that the ancestors of the Virgin Mary ought equally to have been conceived without sin; therefore each would be as well entitled to a festival, and that this would occasion an inconvenient increase of holy days more applicable to heaven than to earth. He insisted that one person only could be free from sin, and thus be enabled to make others pure: this was the Son of God, whose human was lost in his divine nature.

This subject excited an enormous amount of controversy, in Italy, in Germany, and in England especially; and among those who distinguished themselves as advocates of the Virgin was an English monk called Nicholas, who ventured to express an opinion that innovations such as this dogma was considered by its opponents, ought always

to be sanctioned by the Church as an expedient for increasing devotion,—a suggestion that fell on fruitful soil at Rome, where the dispute was regarded with profound interest, particularly by the cardinal chancellor, who could observe its influence on the festival fund.

We must look to contemporary literature for reliable illustrations of social life; and one of the most interesting authorities is John of Salisbury, whose able work, "Polycraticus," already quoted in a preceding page, contains much knowledge both of the world and of books. The first chapter treats of wealth and worldly distinctions, and shows the evils which often accompany prosperity. The author describes the duties of life, and the vanities and gratifications that much too frequently take their place. He dwells on the abuses arising from hunting, gambling, music, and the patronage of minstrels and jongleurs; then exposes the vanity of sorcery, magic, and the black art, soothsaying, and the interpretation of dreams. In the third book there is a denunciation of flatterers and parasites, and an exposure of the evils of pride and avarice. Tyrants form the subject of the third and fourth books; he places kings below priests, and proclaims that it is justifiable for the ecclesiastical power to order the destruction of a tyrant. The obligations of kings is the subject of the fifth book. In the sixth book there is a vivid exposure of the vices and follies of the knights and other classes of society. After this the author devotes himself to the opinions of philosophers on virtue, which leads to a reference to the principal vices that are most

mischievous to the State. He laments the errors of mankind, and eulogizes a virtuous existence as the true happiness. Then contrasting vain and true glory, avarice and generosity, profligacy and chastity, he returns to the duty of slaying tyrants.

This work was held in high estimation when Cardinal Le Poule was in Rome, and no doubt was in special favour with himself, out of personal regard for the author, who had been a pupil of his at Paris. John of Salisbury was more than once a visitor of the famous city on business connected with the primacy of England, and could scarcely have escaped the notice of his distinguished countryman. Possibly the author's poetical satires were equally well known to him; such as his "Eutheticus de Dogmate Philosophorum," where social follies and excesses are held up to ridicule. His "Metalogicus" is a vindication of the schools against the attacks of the ignorant, with characteristic notices of their most celebrated teachers. It also contains a laboured description of social miseries.

The English cardinal lived during the theological controversies that made a powerful impression on the age. John Scotus—"Erigena"—had, in a preceding century, left among the Roman ecclesiastics a reputation almost as obnoxious as that which had previously been produced by his countryman Pelagius. But the fame of the Erin-born Scot had faded under the brilliant advances of more daring disputants. His Greek tendencies produced a philosophical Christianity unobjectionable in comparison with the later opinions of those reformers who strove to undermine the foundations of the Papacy.

Metaphysics entered largely into religious discussion, and he who could be most subtle and most mystical was regarded as the profoundest thinker. It was not in the schools exclusively that these conflicts raged; from the cloister scholars had come forth to take part in the fray, and fought the battle of "nominalism" and "realism" with intense fury; —Lanfranc against Berengar of Tours; Anselm against Roscelin and Abelard; Bernard against Abelard, Arnold, and all comers.

The English cardinal, though eminent as a theologian, does not appear to have taken any part in these discussions. In his more important work he satisfied himself with explaining the doctrines and usages of his Church. In his place in the council, there can be little doubt that he supported the Pontiff against his assailants.

From every country where the religion of Rome was professed and followed, there constantly flowed a tide of human life. From Germany, from the Netherlands, from France, from all parts of Italy, from Spain and Portugal, from England, old and young, rich and poor, donned a particular dress, and started on their way. They sometimes formed considerable caravans, for mutual defence against bands of robbers, that were ever ready to plunder them on their route, often in the pay of a profligate noble, with whom they shared their booty. Over the rugged Alps they went, and along the fruitful plains of Lombardy. They passed city after city, penetrated forests and crossed rivers, day after day continuing the long journey, beguiling the way with pleasant tales, and possibly with edifying dis-

courses,* till they entered the States of the Church; then they pressed forward with renewed zeal, till the first view of their destination caused a general halt.

Their guides called out a name which filled the hearts of the multitude with a passionate ecstasy of devotion. Some knelt down, thanking God for preserving their lives thus far. Many stood up, clasping their hands in the fervour of their joy, for at last being blessed with the sight for which their souls had so long yearned. Over and over again they cried "ROME!" and, filled with a sense of profound devotion, silently gazed, as tears chased each other down their travel-stained cheeks.

They recognized the object of their journey, the metropolis of Christianity, the see of the Apostle, the home of the Holy Father, the place made sacred by the blood of martyrs, and blessed by the persecutions of saints, the Rome of numberless shrines of unparalleled sanctity, the Rome of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, the Rome to visit which

* The fair and gallant members of the company may have made the journey pleasant by the recital of fabliaux and the metrical stories of the trouvères. A little later, William the Clerk's "Du Prestre et d'Alison" was a special favourite, though scarcely readable at the present day. A romance in better taste and perfectly in accordance with modern romantic notions,—"Blonde of Oxford and John of Dammartin," by Philippe de Reimes, also became very popular; but there was abundant scope for selection about the middle of the century. — (See "Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands," &c., par l'Abbé de la Rue.) Those who could not recite, or had with them no MSS., were able to afford quite as much gratification by singing the pretty love-songs of Renaud de Hoilande and of Maurice and Peter de Craon.

they had left home and kindred, opulence and comfort, commercial prosperity, or a hopeful career. Then on they proceeded rejoicing to the gates of the Eternal City.

No inconsiderable portion of the papal revenue must have been drawn from these visitors. Some came in fulfilment of vows, many to perform acts of penance, and not a few to gratify a wandering spirit, as well as to be able to claim the distinction awarded to a pilgrim who had visited Rome. The chancellor had to look after their privileges and offerings, when anything could be made of them; and occasionally something specially profitable to the Pope was sure to be made.

They not only came in prodigious numbers, but included rich devotees of both sexes, their nationality distinguishable, despite the staff, gown, and scallop-shell each adopted; and Cardinal Le Poule must have grown familiar with the sight of such detachments hurrying through the streets of the capital to the favourite sights.

The pilgrimages to Rome produced so many serious abuses in the Middle Ages that Boniface, while on his great mission in Germany, had suggested to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, that a law should be passed to prevent English married and unmarried women leaving the kingdom on such an errand. In this respect things had now got worse instead of better, a bishop of Cremona declaring that female pilgrims had good cause to fear a visit to the Apostolic city.* Many other prelates strove to check the erratic impulses of the religious in their dioceses; some

* Luitprand, "De Rebus Imperatorum et Regum," vi. 6.

going so far as to assert that the absolution so cheaply purchased there would be of no avail, and that they could rely on the efficacy of the same indulgences procured at home. Nevertheless, pilgrimages continued "the madness of many for the gain of few," encouraged by the Popes, with one or two noble exceptions.

Educated and ignorant were then alike in their oblivion of the classic associations of the City of the Seven Hills. To a large majority the Cæsars were obsolete, and the heroes of the Empire and the Republic only to be mentioned as heathens; while poets, historians, and philosophers were regarded as profane writers by the very few who may have heard of their names. The inquiry was for saints and martyrs, for pious recluses and miracle-working monks. They would never weary of admiring the bones and vestments of the canonized of both sexes, but would not stir a step to look at the noblest monuments of a Trajan or an Augustus. The ceremonials of the Church of Rome attracted them in eager crowds; they went from church to church and from monastery to monastery; noted the robes of the principal prelates and the habits of the various orders with childlike gratification; listened enrapt to incredible legends and tales of supernatural gifts, and purchased crosses and rosaries, indulgences, pardons, missals, and everything of a religious character, according to their means. As orthodox Catholics, they gazed on the Holy Father with the reverence due to the Vicar of Christ; then having seen and done all that faith required of them, they turned their backs on Rome, as thoroughly ignorant of its

ancient renown as if it had had neither name nor history unconnected with the Papacy.

All works of classic art were treated with the same neglect. Gaudy Byzantine mural paintings were objects of profound wonder and intense admiration. Effigies of the stiffest of hermits and most rigid of monks, provided the gilding was sumptuous and the colour glaring, excited their enthusiasm to an extravagant degree; but the bronzes and marbles that presented to them forms of the most perfect grace and dignity, they hurried by, as though they were unworthy of notice.

Considerable revenue was derived from the sale and exhibition of relics. The piety of the Christians of the twelfth century must have had a large element of credulity; their faith was greater than their knowledge, and their simplicity sometimes greater than either. This was taken advantage of to create a species of merchandise that found a ready market throughout Christendom. Anything that could be said to have belonged to saint or martyr was sure to find eager purchasers. Its value was not confined to its authenticity, however strongly this was guaranteed; it was affirmed to possess miraculous qualities, which largely enhanced its price. The result was, that it was not only appreciated but worshipped. Finding a good trade was to be made in this direction, scores of enterprising monks took to manufacturing such articles, and pushed the sale of their wares with declarations that throw the most effective of modern advertisements into the shade.

Rome was the great mart for this produce, whence specimens found their way to the remote

villages of distant nations, wherever a local saint or a marvellous legend might be capitalized. The immense number of pilgrims and strangers constantly going and coming made the shrines and reliquaries in every sacred building throughout the city a source of gain to the community to whom it belonged. Some of this was made to swell the income of the Pontiff, and thus the cardinal chancellor must have gained cognizance of the value of this profitable branch of home manufacture.

There were worthy ecclesiastics who set their faces against such impositions. Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucey, wrote an elaborate work, denouncing the frauds continually practised on the devout.* The merchants presently grew more ambitious in their nomenclature; saints and martyrs gave way to the superior attraction of apostles, and subsequently to that of the Saviour and of his Virgin Mother. Limbs, bones, portions of, or entire garments, were set in costly reliquaries, and became the object of devout veneration when placed in cathedrals or conventual churches. In one costly case was shown a piece of bread marked with our Lord's teeth, and fragments of the cross, as well as of his body, were multiplied without end.

Occasionally one of the popes would denounce the traffic; but directly it was found that a building or any other fund could be raised more easily when the collector carried with him a box of such credentials, and that the pontifical finances could not afford to lose the profit derived from it, the abuse was permitted a further development.

* "De Pignoribus Sanctorum."

Canonization was another item in the papal accounts; for there were few districts in a Christian land that could not lay claim to the honour of having a resident hermit or other recluse of extraordinary sanctity. The enthusiasm of his admirers invested him with superhuman virtues, and at his death miracles multiplied, till the country became full of marvellous legends respecting them.

His neighbours and countrymen grew proud of his fame, and as a pious consequence, anxious to have him enrolled among the blessed order of Saints. This could not be done without a journey to Rome; moreover, it was a distinction that the Romish Church prudently would not permit its customers to have cheap. Those who pressed for the canonization found it imperative to fee the papal authorities liberally, the Pope's chancellor probably the highest; at least, he could not have been ignorant of the proceeds from this source.

There were sham saints as well as fictitious relics. Any one dying on a Good Friday was among the peasantry of rural districts considered to be peculiarly blessed, and to his corpse they flocked in the full conviction that it would work miracles. Rumours of cures spread far and wide; this would induce the unprincipled to feign disorders, that, being miraculously cured, they might become objects of popular interest; and some prelate in the neighbourhood was pretty certain to come forward to secure the advantage to be derived from possessing the remains of a local saint.* It sometimes, however, happened that a superior of more

* Guibert, "De Pignoribus Sanctorum," i. 2.

discrimination as well as honesty would have nothing to do with such worthies. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, wished to unsaint a predecessor who had been slain by the Normans because he would not pay the ransom they demanded, and subsequently had been regarded as a martyr; and Anselm threatened an abbess with suspension for favouring the worship of a saint of similar doubtful origin.

Another source of income was penance. Great offenders, before they could obtain absolution, were often obliged to make distant pilgrimages. The holy places in the capital of the Christian world were the objects of both voluntary and involuntary pilgrimage. There were usually offerings or money payments to be made, and considerable sums were also extracted from the penitent, which flowed into the Pope's treasury. Every sinner, male or female, if wealthy, could obtain remission for almost any amount of sin. The Holy Father could not always be aware of the gravity or extent of the wickedness committed; the case being recommended as a proper one by one or other of his officers who had received a handsome retainer for expediting the pardon. If his Holiness knew that the prescribed penance had been performed, and that the penitent had given material satisfaction to the Church for his offences against her, there could be no sufficient reason for withholding absolution. The darkest of social crimes were thus sometimes compounded for, and the criminals let loose to repeat the same outrages with the like impunity. If the cardinal chancellor kept an account of such transactions, it must have been a

curious, if not an edifying record. Homicide might at any time be pardoned, heterodoxy rarely: it was easier to get off for half a dozen murders than for one heretical opinion.

The luxury, the pride, and cupidity of the more powerful prelates attracted the attention and provoked the animadversion of nobler and purer-minded Catholics. In the time of St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, the virgin prophetess Hildegarda, who wrote several religious works—of which Matthew of Westminster has left a detailed account—in her "Mirror of Future Times" holds these churchmen up to public censure while foretelling their fate. The book is a rambling narrative in scriptural phraseology, written by an enthusiast, with as little pretension to method as to argument; nevertheless, all her writings were held in great estimation by religious readers, and her reputation gained for her the honour of canonization.

It could not have been unknown to the chancellor that glaring abuses existed in the papacy; many gravely immoral; priests who set at naught their vows of celibacy, and prelates who lived in luxurious indulgence. Occasionally an offender had to appear at Rome to answer serious charges made against him. If he came empty-handed, he rarely escaped punishment; if he was generous towards those who had his fate at their disposal, a mild rebuke might be all that he would have to endure. In consequence bad men multiplied in the Church, and complaints of misconduct became more and more frequent.

Certain popular preachers suggested in some com-

munities a desire for a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular, that a nearer approach to the source of their faith might be secured to them; and ideas began here and there to spring up threatening a divergence from the teaching of the Church, generally under the guidance of some recluse of severe morals, or teacher of enterprising intelligence. If the persons who professed them assumed the position of a sect, when readily assailable they were not long left unnoticed. Those who had property to lose were impoverished, the rest were persecuted with more or less severity. The forfeiture of their worldly goods was sure to make some accession to the revenue of the see of Rome; and if any wealthy layman or prelate could be caught encouraging such criminals, the penalties of heresy were urged against him with such severity that an enormous ransom must be forthcoming to permit of his escape.

The pontifical accounts included many items of this nature, heretics being made to pay dearly for the luxury of entertaining opinions of their own; and yet no sooner was one sect stamped out than another made itself manifest in a different quarter. Preachers and writers would also promulgate sentiments of doubtful orthodoxy, who occasionally found themselves unpleasantly reminded of the influence of the Apostolic Church.

All the earnest-minded Christians of the time were not blind or asleep. Occasionally a powerful voice would be raised in warning or admonition in one or other of the principal Catholic states. A remarkable demonstration of the kind was that

made by the abbess Hildegarda, referred to in a preceding page; who in very strong terms denounced the contemporary clergy as corrupt in morals, trafficking in things that ought to be held sacred, greedy of money, affecting military occupations, singing profane songs, and in every way neglecting their duties and discrediting their profession, while leading, by their infamous conduct, to the creation of sects in dangerous opposition to the Church. After this accusation, the abbess delivered herself of a prophecy, in which she foretold a reformation and the scattering of the unworthy churchmen; but this, as she predicted, was to be followed by the purification of the Church, when it should shine as the finest gold.*

The cardinal chancellor must have been aware that the sale of indulgences and masses was an excellent source of revenue: the first would permit a large amount of evil-living, the second remove the penalty of grievous sin. By the one the quick might gratify their inclinations, however reprehensible; by the other, the dead could be rescued from the perils of hell. Rome carried on a lively trade in these wares, as long as her best customers cared to provide for all spiritual contingencies.

Next came dispensations,—a valuable privilege. It could be made to remedy almost any difficulty: marriages within the prohibited degrees, marriages with a wife living, as well as a riddance of vows and other obligations. There was no moral obstacle a dispensation could not remove. According to the seriousness of the difficulty, the chancellor must have learnt the cost of removing it.

* Hildegarda, "Epistolæ," 121.

How long the English cardinal remained chancellor has not been ascertained, nor what subsequently became of him. In truth very little of his personal history at Rome or elsewhere has been preserved.*

During the time he served the papal see he must have witnessed important events. The Pope, who had been established by the influence of the all-powerful abbot of Clairvaux two years before, had contrived to collect a Lateran Council, in which five Anglo-Norman bishops made a part of the thousand of all nations who formed that memorable synod. Its decrees secured tranquillity to Pope Innocent II. only for a very short time. He seems to have delighted in war, and must have provided his cardinals with more military than ecclesiastical employment. "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon" apparently was never out of his hands. When not besieging revolted cities, he was engaged in carrying on hostilities against the king of Sicily; and when the Sicilians had been disposed of, he found more formidable enemies in the Normans, by whom he was taken prisoner.

The cardinal was present at Rome when Arnold was engaged in turning it into a republic, and was probably with the papal army when it marched

* MS. Reg. 10 B. V. "Incipiunt Sententiæ Roberti Pulli, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbyteri cardinalis et cancellarii."—("Biog. Brit. Lit.," ii. 183.) "Venit magister Robertus, cognomine Pullus, de civitate Exonia, Oxefordam., ibique scripturas divinas, quæ per idem tempus in Anglia obsoluerant, præ scholasticis, quippe neglectæ fuerant, per quinquennium legit, omnique die dominico verbum Dei populo prædicavit, ex cujus doctrina plurimi profecerunt."—Anonymous Continuator of Bede, ibid., 182.

against Tivoli, and carried that troublesome city after a year's siege. He doubtless was also among the Pope's counsellors who prevented its destruction, which so inflamed the animosity of the jealous Romans, that they threw off the papal authority, and addressed a proposition to the emperor Conrad, offering themselves and their city as the price of their independence as a republic.

At the demise of Innocent II., Le Poule joined with the other cardinals in the election of Celestine II.; and at the expiration of his six months' pontificate, assisted in that of Lucius II. It was then that Roman liberty began to take a substantive shape, under its patrician Giordano, who would only acknowledge the spiritual authority of the Pope. A fierce conflict ensued, during which the palaces of many of the cardinals were levelled with the ground. Lucius wrote an earnest appeal to the emperor Conrad, but did not neglect the martial resources at his disposal. His chancellor must have had to fight as well as to keep accounts. The Pope set his cardinals an example, by leading his soldiers to an attack upon the rebels, when he was killed, 25th February, 1145.

Again the English cardinal assisted in the election of a pope,—the patron of Nicholas Breakspear,—Eugenius III. He had to quit the city shortly afterwards, to assist in the consecration of the new pontiff in a monastery at Farfa. Rome, through the influence of Arnold, supported by a force he had raised in Zurich, had become almost entirely republican; patricians, plebeians, and a considerable number of the clergy, having joined to establish a democracy. The Pope and cardinals were not dis-

mayed; they collected troops from the loyal cities, till they had gathered such an army as permitted them by Christmas to march into Rome. There, however, they were not allowed to remain. Eugenius, attended by his cardinals, went from one Italian city to another, then crossed the Alps into France, leaving Arnold dictator of the temporary republic.

At Rheims the Pope summoned a council; and the English cardinal was doubtless an auditor of the grand discussion on realism and nominalism that there took place. Then came the movement for a new crusade, which the Pope and the cardinals employed their most earnest endeavours to forward.

An English contemporary of great repute was a monk of Rievaux, known as Ailred. His first employment there was as master of the novices; from which he was removed to become abbot of another Cistercian house at Revesby, in Lincolnshire, but returned to his old monastery as its head in 1146. He survived till 1166. For his striking virtues he was canonized in 1191. He had so elevated the character of the religious establishment he had governed, that at his death its wealth was found to be immense, and the community numbered a hundred and eighty monks and fifty lay-brothers; but neither as a scholar nor as a historian is he entitled to much honour.

The abbot of Clairvaux greatly distinguished himself in exhorting everybody to go to the Holy Land; the Pope and cardinals were equally eloquent: no one, however, practised what he preached—luckily for them, for the result was most disastrous,—and the imitator of Peter the Hermit, the all-powerful

Bernard, fell in consequence into such disrepute, that he sickened and died, in the year 1153.

Cardinal Le Poule has left evidences of unusual learning, particularly in his "Sententiæ," a body of Church doctrine and practice.* A set of sermons, and other treatises on divinity, have been attributed to him; among them a Commentary on the Apocalypse and on a portion of the Psalms. He also wrote dissertations on contempt of the world, and collected the sayings of the learned.

Whether the English cardinal crossed from France into England, and, tired of his dangerous dignity, chose to live safely though obscurely for the rest of his life, has not been ascertained. A trustworthy English ecclesiastical antiquary† avers that he was existing in 1150. It has also been stated that at one time he was archdeacon of Rochester.‡

* "Roberti Pulli Sententiæ," fol. An edition of "Sententiæ" was published in Paris in 1605, edited by Hugo Malhout.—Wright, "Biog. Brit. Lit.," vol. ii.

† Tanner, "Notitia Monastica."

‡ The same also is reported in the Chronicles of Osney [Wykes], which call him Robert Pulleyn, and add that "ex doctrina ejus Ecclesia tam Anglicana, quam Gallicana plurimum profecit." "From both which authors, and divers others, Leland [Collect., p. 140, Hall] is pleased to do very great honour to his memory for this great work of restauration. He tells us that he daily taught in the schools, and left no stone unremoved whereby the British youth might flourish in the learned tongues; which good and useful labours of Pulleyne continuing several years, multitudes came to hear his doctrine, profiting thereby so exceedingly, that in a short space the University proceeded in their old method of exercises, which were the age before very seldom or rarely performed."—(Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch), i. 142.) Poule is said by the same authority to have procured charters from the Pope to settle the privileges of the English university, and was held in high esteem by St. Bernard.

Our early writers of ecclesiastical biography are sufficiently eulogistic in the little they have collected respecting this once celebrated churchman, the bishop of Ossory, though in general illiberal in his notices, taking the lead.*

* "Robertus Pollenus, alias Pully, vir in omni literarum genere instructissimus, eruditione eximia et rerum divinarum scientia plurimum per hoc tempus valebat, ac labascentibus succurrebat studiis. Hic, cum multis nominibus perpetuam gloriam, tum hoc præcipue meritus est, quod subversis olim ab Haraldo primo ejus appellationis Anglorum rege, Oxoniensis gymnasii scholis, Herculeam tunc adhibuit manum. Porro et suorum comprovincialium patrocinaretur inscitiæ, post reditum è Parisiis, ex omni regni parte studiosos illuc advocabat; omnis generis doctrinas proposuit, et optimarum artium disciplinas gratis tradidit. Legit præterea, persuasit, pellexit, docuit, exposuit, et omnia humanitatis officia scientiis promovendis præstitit. Dumque hæc ageret, pro restaurandis illic bonis literis, multa dictabat ipse ac multa scripsit."—Bale, "Scriptorum illustrium majoris Brytanniæ Catalogus."

CHAPTER IV.

BOZON BREAKSPEAR, CARDINAL AND PAPAL SECRETARY. HEREBERT DE BOSHAM, CARDINAL AND ARCHBISHOP.

Ecclesiastical Poets—Bozon's Verses—Rival Pontiffs—Destruction of Milan by Barbarossa—Martial Prelates in England—Thomas Becket—His intimacy with Adrian IV. at Rome—A Royal Joke—King Henry II. and his Chancellor—Becket Archbishop of Canterbury—Refined Dissimulation—Herebert of Bosham, the Primate's Secretary—Necessity of Church Reform—The Constitutions of Clarendon—Pope Alexander's Insincerity—Becket an Imitator of Adrian—Contest of the Spiritual and Temporal Powers—Becket more Papal than the Pope—Impatience of the King—Murder of Becket—Its effect in Christendom—Becket a Saint—De Bosham appointed Cardinal and Archbishop—Doubtful English Cardinals.

WE have the authority of a learned French historian for placing the kinsman of Pope Adrian IV. among the popular trouvères of the twelfth century. Several English ecclesiastics at this period distinguished themselves by their imaginative productions: Thomas, archbishop of York, Godfrey of Winchester, William of Chester, Reginald of Canterbury, Philip de Thaun, Hilarius, Turold, Everard of Winchester, Samson de Nanteuil, Guiscard de Beaulieu, Geoffrey Gaimar, Laurence of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, and Richard of Worcester, were Anglo-Norman poets, who had attained more or less celebrity. They were, however,

inferior to Wace, Bozon's contemporary, whose romances were the most popular books of the time. Jordan Fantosme flourished about the same period. John of Salisbury did not disdain to follow the general fashion to excel in such *nugæ*. John de Hauteville, Benoît de St. Maur, Walter Mapes, Robert de Borron, Luces de Gast, and Guernes du Pont de St. Maxence, were also poets or romance writers of repute, and nearly all were churchmen.

Bozon, therefore, had plenty of examples to stimulate him to excellence. It is probable that some of his metrical compositions came under the observation of his uncle, when either pope or cardinal, and that their merit induced him to offer the poet employment as his secretary. He has taken care to hand down his name to posterity in his rhyming legends. At the end of the life of St. Agnes, he wrote—

"Jeo pri Agneis de Dieu cherie,
K'ele nus seit en aye;
E k'ele prie pur Bozun,
Ki ad descrit su passiun."

That of St. Mary Magdalen concludes with—

"Meis jeo pri Marie la dulce,
Ke sa bonté point ne grouce,
De ayder Bozun en son mester,
Ki sa vie vous translater,
Ki gent la pussent plus amer,
E del lire merit aver." *

He wrote a collection of nine poetical lives of female saints, in which these passages appear, and probably many other poems, of which no trace can be found. But this is not the only literary loss we

* MS. Cotton., Domitian, A. xi. See also the work of the Abbé de la Rue.

have to lament. While secretary to the Pope, or after his decease, he wrote an account of Adrian's pontificate; this seems also to have perished. It would have proved a trustworthy authority, and most likely contained not only full illustrations of the career of that illustrious Pontiff, but many interesting particulars of his own.

We know that he was created a cardinal in 1153, and sent on a mission to Portugal by his uncle; that he survived Adrian more than twenty years; and must have figured in the great events that marked this interval. His narrative would have been invaluable, had it been permitted to come down to us unmutilated. With its aid we might have traced with confidence the influence of English intelligence in the expansion of the papal system.

Cardella refers to Bozon as Bosone Breakspear, and describes him as created cardinal deacon of SS. Cosimo e Damiani, in the eighth year of the pontificate of Alexander III., subsequently becoming cardinal priest of St. Pudentia, and as being employed in important missions by successive popes.*

The elements of discord, that had been restrained by the strong will of Adrian, burst into mischievous activity as soon as his demise was ascertained. When the conclave met in open consistory, the anti-imperialists strove to steal a march upon their opponents by trying to elect by acclamation Roland, cardinal of St. Mark, chancellor of the late Pope; but the other party, under the inspiration of the two German counts, were not agreeable to this. For three days nothing could be settled. At last

* "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali," &c.

fourteen cardinals having become of one mind, a cope was brought forward, and Cardinal Roland invested. While he was making the customary modest struggles, Octavian, cardinal of St. Cecilia, the imperial candidate, rudely plucked the vestment from his shoulders, and then two confederates, the cardinals Guido and St. Martin, hailed him as Pontiff. A senator who was present snatched the cope out of his hands; but the foregone conclusion was betrayed by his chaplain quickly producing another; an armed party then rushed in, and hurried him away. He was at once declared Pope as Victor IV., and his party mustered in such formidable numbers that the friends of Cardinal Roland—also declared Pope as Alexander III.—were obliged to fly for their lives. They remained concealed in a neighbouring fortress, till the friendly head of the house of Frangipani collected a sufficient force to insure their safety.

The contending parties were so nearly balanced, and so furiously antagonistic, that neither of the popes could venture on their consecration in the city. The Emperor, who was fully employed striving to put down an insurrection in Lombardy, affected impartiality, and summoned a council at Pavia, to deal with the disputed succession. Alexander declined to appear, knowing well how it would be constituted; but Victor had of course no apprehensions. The council deposed and excommunicated the first in due course, and declared the other duly elected. Alexander at Anagni excommunicated the Emperor, the anti-Pope, and all their abettors. This declaration of war he followed up with measures

disclosing great energy of character. The strife waged hot and strong; kings and princes presently took sides in the contest, and the government of the Christian world became divided between Pope and anti-Pope. England, France, and Spain declared for one; the Empire, with all northern Europe and a considerable part of Italy, for the other. It was a deplorable scandal.

Cardinal Bozon accepted service with the first. He was sure to be in opposition to the great enemy of his kinsman and friend; and though Alexander met with important defections among the prelates of his party, the English cardinal was always faithful to his interests. Suddenly Alexander hazarded an attack on Rome, and gained possession of the city. He performed pontifical duty there, however, but a short time; his enemies encompassed him in so menacing a manner, that flight became imperative. He sailed in a galley from Terracina in the summer of 1161, and landed near Montpellier, on the French coast. In France, the kings of France and of England met him near the Loire, and each walking by the side of his palfrey holding his rein, conducted him into the town of Courcy. He left the Emperor and the anti-Pope to their own devices in Italy, whilst for three years he safely ruled no inconsiderable portion of Christendom from his French retreat.*

Milan, after standing a year's siege, was razed to the ground, and its brave inhabitants, clothed in sackcloth, a rope round their necks and lighted tapers in their hands, were forced to display them-

* Guizot, "Collection des Mémoires," tom. vii. Reuter, "Geschichte, Alexander III."

selves before the imperial conqueror during a torrent of rain. In consequence of an insult they had offered the empress, they were individually subjected to a degrading ceremony, that subsequently became a severer reproach to them than the total destruction of their noble city. Italy was overrun and plundered, and governors placed in the more important cities. The archbishop of Cologne, who had distinguished himself as a military leader, was appointed arch-chancellor of Italy. A little later the anti-Pope died at Lucca, and was succeeded by another, Paschal III.

Pope Alexander took advantage of an insurrection created by the rape of a beautiful lady in Padua by its German governor, to get accepted as its leader, and with a powerful following entered Rome in triumph in the year 1165. The Empire was immediately placed under interdict, and the cardinals took the field against the archbishop of Cologne; another German archbishop (Christian of Mayence) came to his assistance, and the Romans were defeated. In Lombardy the insurgents were successful, and the Germans were again driven over the Alps, and Milan rebuilt.

Martial as the prelates were on the mainland, in the British islands they proved themselves the most belligerent of the nobles. In the sanguinary conflict between King Stephen and Queen Matilda, the king's brother, bishop of Winchester, who also held the office of papal legate, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln, were the principal military leaders. They held their strong castles in defiance of every authority, till the king contrived

to force their surrender. The lower ranks of the priesthood were necessarily ignorant and turbulent. It required the vigour and judgment of Henry II. to maintain the regal authority against so factious an influence.

The priests of the Greek Church reproached the professors of the Romish faith for permitting their prelates to take part in military proceedings, and appear publicly in armour, notwithstanding that such conduct was contrary to the statutes of the councils. All over the continent priestly soldiers and commanders were of common occurrence. In France, the abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés and the bishop of Paris fought determinedly against the Normans; and the bishop of Beauvais, fighting with the English, struck the earl of Salisbury to the earth with one blow of his battle-axe. Joinville records an act of desperate courage performed by a French priest, John de Waysey, who, with his cuirass on his breast, helmet on his head, and sword in hand, rushed alone on a company of Saracens, slaying six, and making the rest seek safety in flight. He narrates a similar achievement performed by a bishop of Soissons, who also charged the infidels single-handed. But they placed him in the company of martyrs.

The great spirit of the English Pope was not revived in his successor, but in a countryman, who in a struggle with the temporal power that attracted the attention of all Europe, followed the footsteps of Adrian with a fidelity which proves how carefully he had studied his policy. This man was Thomas Becket, originally of a respectable family of mer-

chants; like Nicholas Breakspear, he received his education in a religious house. He accompanied Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury,* to Rome,† and studied at the universities of Auxerre and Bologna.‡ He received valuable preferment from the archbishop, as well as a recommendation to Henry II., whose chancellor he became about 1155. The king's regard for him was exceeded by his confidence in his sagacity and skill; but his qualifications lay quite as much in accomplishments which, though properly those of laymen, were not unfrequently cultivated by dignified priests. Hunting, hawking, and chivalrous exercises, a taste for light literature and gallantry—the objects of constant canonical censure—were shared by the young king and his handsome counsellor.

It was exactly at this period that the pupil of the monks of St. Alban's ascended the chair of St. Peter. Such a remarkable example was not likely to be lost upon the pupil of the monks of Merton. There were, however, lay elevations to be ascended before

* An excellent character of Archbishop Theobald is given by ecclesiastical writers generally. He was a prelate who strove to render his elevated position one of as much utility as honour. His quiet life was in marked contrast to that of his successor. The Anglican Church had contrived to flourish under his superintendence, the expansion of the papal system had not affected it; and though Adrian IV. had closed his career, this could not exercise much influence over a churchman who was his senior in age, and, moreover, was not his countryman. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the primate was not in such favour with the English Pope as was his inferior, the abbot of St. Alban's.—Inett., "Origines Anglicanæ."

† Roger de Pontigny, p. 100.

‡ Fitz-Stephen, 185, "Vita Sancti Thomæ," &c.

he could profit by it. He was still only a deacon of the Church. In 1160 he was the king's ambassador in France, seeking an infant wife for the infant heir of England. His munificence astonished the French court quite as much as his enterprise did the French warriors, when, at the head of seven hundred knights, he appeared in Toulouse as the champion of his sovereign's claim to that province, and a little later led a force of between five and six thousand men to the assistance of the king in Normandy. He distinguished himself both as a soldier and as a statesman, and was lavishly rewarded for his services.

Becket had been employed in diplomatic missions between Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and the Pope, Eugenius III., at the time when his countryman, the cardinal-bishop of Albano, was so much in favour with the papal court. There can be very little doubt that these compatriots met and compared notes on a subject that must have been of paramount interest to both, and that the younger ecclesiastic heard the views of his senior. During Becket's visits to Rome he was powerfully impressed with the position of the Church, and though it was not till several years later that he assumed the outward characteristics of a churchman, his ambition lay in that direction. He contrived so to interest the more influential of the College of Cardinals as to secure the objects of his mission,—the restoration of the office of papal legate to the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as a bull to prevent the coronation of Stephen's son.

The chancellor, unlike many of his predecessors,

was extremely popular in his office,—popular with the king for his graceful manners and courteous bearing, and popular with the people for his handsome appearance and liberal style of living. A modern author dwells with particular satisfaction on his personal attractions,* and his hospitality has been the theme of all his admirers, lay and clerical, especially of his devoted attendants. Fitz-Stephen has left a picturesque account of the luxuries he afforded his numerous guests, in the shape of fresh rushes for the gentlefolk to rest themselves upon, when they could not secure sitting room at his capacious board. The sons of the chief barons were sent to him for their education, and when he found them sufficiently accomplished to receive the honour of knighthood, they were returned to their parents.†

With the king the chancellor remained on the most familiar footing. This is amusingly illustrated by an anedote told by his affectionate biographer. They were riding together, when they observed a mendicant.

"Do you see yonder man?" said the king.

"Ay, I see him," replied his counsellor, probably not particularly interested.

"Look!" exclaimed Henry, with touching earnestness, "how wretched and ragged he is. Would it not be great charity, think you, to present him with a warm cloak?"

"Great charity! certainly—and you, as his sovereign, ought to possess a disposition as well as an observation for such deeds."

* Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," i. 64.

† "Vita Sancti Thomæ."

"Fellow!" cried the king to the approaching beggar, "wouldst like to have a good cloak?"

The man stared incredulously, thinking the fine gentlemen so nobly mounted were bantering him. The king had certainly a joke in preparation, which he now determined to play off.

"You shall have the merit of performing this noble deed," he said, turning to his companion. Suddenly seizing upon the cloak he wore, which, like his apparel generally, was as studiously magnificent as fine scarlet cloth and spotless ermine could make it,* Henry tried to pull it off his shoulders. Becket, however, did not seem to like the idea of robing a mendicant at his expense, and clung to his handsome robe. The courtiers were amazed at seeing the monarch and his favourite struggling, as if to unhorse each other. As both were laughing heartily, there could not be anything very serious the matter; nevertheless the king tugged, and Becket tugged, as if their lives depended on the firmness of their hold. At last the politic courtier allowed his patron to have his way; the richly-ermined cloak was thrown to the shivering pauper, and the delighted king told the jest to the astonished lookers-on, who were extremely eager to supply the place of the lost garment. Of course no one laughed louder at it than the Lord High Chancellor.†

* "Who braver than Becket? None in the court wore more costly clothes, mounted more stately steeds, made more sumptuous feasts, kept more jovial company, brake more merry jests, used more pleasant pastime."—Fuller, "Church History" (Brewer), book iii. p. 96.

† Fitz-Stephen, "Vita Sancti Thomæ."

Fitz-Stephen gives many curious anecdotes showing the extraordinary influence at court enjoyed by his master; but they have already been largely drawn upon. They prove that Becket at this period was eminently a man of the world,—apparently had not so much as a priestly idea or a priestly feeling in his nature. He was the associate in the royal pleasures, the instructor of the king's son, and the dispenser of the king's justice; moreover, was enthusiastically greeted everywhere. When he had occasion to travel abroad on the king's business, marvellous was the prodigal display he made of the means of enjoying life,— in eating, drinking, sport, and merry-making. Foreigners gazed on his vats of ale, his coffers of plate and apparel, his numberless retinue of knights, squires, and pages, soldiers, priests, and grooms, and his lions, bears, and bull-dogs, with such intense astonishment as could only find expression in the remark, "If the chancellor is so wonderful a man, what must be his king!" * Fitz-Stephen goes on, causing the description of his employer to be more attractive at every page: he is the flower of chivalry, unhorsing an armed knight in single combat, and making prize of his charger; he is a skilful commander, levying forces at his own expense, and leading them to battle; he is a hero, besieging castle after castle, and taking them by assault. Had the campaign continued longer, the client must have exhausted all the known types of valour, wisdom, and magnificence, in endeavouring to do justice to his patron's surprising qualities.

* "Vita Sancti Thomæ."

It is curious to observe that at this time his dealings with the great prelates were so strongly in favour of the superiority of the temporal over the spiritual power that his early friend, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, threatened to visit him with excommunication. Foliot, bishop of London, commenced that opposition to him which ended only with his life; but the chancellor sharply reminded the spiritual peers of their duty to their sovereign.

The intelligence of the death of the English pope, after a career of extraordinary interest to Becket as a churchman, apparently made a powerful impression on his mind. That the like elevation might be accessible to him, enjoying as he did the favour of a monarch who, as king of England and sovereign of a large portion of France, was almost as influential, while far more wealthy than the Emperor, no one could doubt; and when, at the death of his first patron, 18th April, 1161, the primacy of all England was placed at his disposal with the sanction of the papal legate, Henry of Pisa, he felt that an important part of the difficult ascent had been achieved.

The king had a powerful motive in desiring to place his chancellor in the primacy. Like most of the sovereigns of Europe, he entertained the idea that he ought to be as much king over his clergy as over the rest of his subjects, and by appointing his agreeable friend, expected to be able to check the encroachments of the Pope of Rome upon the royal prerogative. The conduct of Becket had systematically strengthened this impression. Skilfully had he concealed his predilections for priestly

authority; while with consummate tact he had openly opposed at court the papal influence in England. Rome might have been proud of the talent he displayed in winning confidence by refined dissimulation, but he had secretly professed himself a pupil of her school, and had evidently resolved to become an adept in her philosophy. Why should he not profit by the example of his celebrated countryman, whose death was still recent? If there could be one English pope, why not another?

Scarcely had he been consecrated when the archbishop of Canterbury changed from the graceful self-indulgent layman to the devoted servant of Rome. Like a chameleon, he took the colour of surrounding objects; unlike a chameleon, he took the substance also. He became intensely sacerdotal—not a minister of the Church merely, but the Church itself. All the sanctity, all the power, all the privilege his prototype had displayed in the capital of Christianity, he sought as closely as possible to imitate in the dominions of the king of England. He laid himself open to the suspicion of striving to create a rivalry with his friendly sovereign: his intentions went beyond this; he desired to establish supremacy.

On the 19th of May, 1163, the archbishop proceeded in state to attend the council at Tours, over which Alexander III. presided; he was accompanied by nearly the entire English hierarchy,—so grand a *cortége* that the Pope sent all but a few of his cardinals, who could not be spared, to meet and conduct them to his presence. The discussions of the assembly were carried on to sanction the papal

election, and to maintain the rights of the Church. We may conclude that there were private conferences between the Pontiff and the archbishop, when an understanding was come to, to keep intact the church system as expanded by Adrian. At any rate, the idea of making the spiritual over-ride the temporal power was made sufficiently plain next year at Woodstock, when the king was opposed by his late favourite, in his desire to impose an ancient tax, known as the Danegelt, of two shillings on every hide of land. "By the eyes of God it shall be enrolled!" cried Henry, emphatically.

"By the same eyes it shall never be levied on *my* lands," retorted the prelate.* They parted in anger.

Among the distinguished English scholars who were members of the archbishop's establishment, were John of Salisbury, an intimate friend of the deceased Pope, and Herebert of Bosham,† whom we are very desirous of identifying with his kinsman. Both appear to have acted in the capacity of secretary, and to have been on the most confidential terms with their patron, and both have left trustworthy memorials of their intimacy. From one, if not from both, the primate was sure to hear much of the character and conduct of Adrian, that could scarcely fail of influencing his own.

It is impossible to show the nature or extent of the action of English intelligence upon the Papacy,

* Roger de Pontigny. "Vita Sancti Thomæ." Edward Grim, p. 22. See also Milman, "Latin Christ.," v. 41.

† The papal annalists mention Bozon and Bosham as different persons; nevertheless, their careers afford some curious coincidences.

without describing the effect it had in the two grand struggles with the temporal power, carried on within a few years of each other by Nicholas Breakspear and Thomas Becket. There can be very little doubt that one was a sequel to the other. Henry entertained a conviction that 'the time had come for exerting the authority of the laws of the country over a foreign jurisdiction that was constantly setting them aside. The privileges of the priesthood were exercised in total defiance of the civil power to an extent that was grievous to the laity, while it was a scandal to the Church. The lay statesmen and legal functionaries had made representations to the Crown of the evils resulting to the community from the numerous gross perversions of justice to screen clerical offenders that came under their observation; but, as if the archbishop had a special retainer in the cause, he stood up for their continuance. He professed willingness to join in any regulations or enactments *salvo ordine suo*—which was equivalent to a denial of the necessary reform, because it was his order that wanted reforming, and appeared determined not to reform itself. He insisted on the sacerdotal character of the priest.

The parties to the coming conflict of Church and State had now declared their antagonism. Henry was aware that his subjects groaned under the intolerable abuses of clerical impunity, and determined to make priestly criminals amenable to civil law. The archbishop, in the spirit of Adrian, upheld the right of the Church to deal in the ecclesiastical courts with ecclesiastical offenders, though perfectly aware of the evils caused by their wickedness.

The king summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and directed that all criminal clerks in holy orders should be degraded, and dealt with by the civil power. Becket still stood out for the immunities of the clergy, and most of the bishops with him; but when the king's anger had been aroused, he yielded; and in January, 1164, the archbishop and all the prelates sanctioned by their oaths certain enactments, called, from the place where they were framed, "the Constitutions of Clarendon."

This was certainly to some extent a departure from the policy of Adrian, for these enactments gave to the king a right of seizing the revenues of all the higher preferments when a vacancy occurred, and with the lay peers, of having a voice in each election; moreover, the individuals elected were to swear fealty to him as their sovereign. Clerical transgressors were to be tried in the king's courts, as well as disputes respecting benefices; no interdicts were to be permitted, and the king was to be the last appeal—excluding the Pope. Though the archbishop had sworn to the constitutions, he refused to append his seal to them. He could be absolved from his oath, but the wax could not be so easily got rid of. Indeed he at once wrote to Pope Alexander to obtain absolution—which he received, as well as approval and advice. The primate alone withheld the required confirmation of these very necessary laws. His suffragans sealed, and seemed content.

The king now thought of trying his influence with the refractory prelate's superior. The papal court was generally accessible to regal arguments; but in this momentous crisis in the Papacy, with an anti-

pope and a hostile emperor, the Pontiff was pretty sure to be tractable. He wanted funds, and Henry could supply him with plenty; so the Pope temporized. Nothing can be more obvious than Alexander's want of sincerity in all his negotiations with the king of England during this remarkable quarrel. Expediency led him to support one or the other of the parties, without the slightest reference to the justice of the case. Notwithstanding the patent fact that Becket was fighting the battle of the Church, when appealed to he regarded his own interests only, scolding the archbishop when the king's liberality was particularly seasonable, and scolding the king when in a position in which he thought he could afford to favour the primate; all the while maintaining a correspondence remarkable in the highest degree for dissimulation.

Several of the English prelates were zealous in support of the king. The Pope appointed one, the archbishop of York, his legate; a source of grievous annoyance to his brother primate, for York could now have his cross carried before that of Canterbury. Much heavier troubles soon followed. Becket was condemned to pay the large sum of 40,000 marks, as a debt to the king incurred during his chancellorship, and subsequently, at a general assembly of the barons, was pronounced guilty of high treason. The archbishop bore himself proudly before them, and announced his intention to appeal to the Pope. As he had sworn not to do this, his declaration was received with murmurs of derision. Some threw rushes at him, and one cried out "traitor" as he walked away. He turned

sharply and returned scorn for scorn, abusing certain members of the royal household in the grossest language.*

Becket secretly made his escape from the kingdom, crossing the Channel in an open boat, and when near St. Omer was joined by the faithful Herebert de Bosham, who had stayed behind to collect funds for his patron. He readily obtained the protection of Louis, king of France, whose jealousy of the king of England, then ruling over a considerable portion of French territory, was intense. Alexander was at Sens, and under a heavy weight of obligation to Henry, who had assisted him materially in his conflict with the Emperor and the anti-Pope; but he had been in secret correspondence with the fugitive, encouraging him to stand out for the Church; so when Roger, archbishop of York; Foliot, bishop of London; Hilary, bishop of Chichester, and others, came to him as ambassadors from the king,† to request

* "Vita Sancti Thomæ"—Herebert de Bosham.

† The scene is thus ludicrously described by a contemporary poet, Guernes du Pont de St. Maxence, one of Becket's partisans:—

"L'arcevesque i vint qui d'Evrewic ert maistre
Wit le rus, e l'evêsque i vint de Wirecestre,
E li quens d'Arundel, e Richarz d'Ivecestre,
Johanz d'Oxeneford, l'evesque d'Execestre,
Hue de Gundeville, Hylaires de Cicestre.
Cil de Saint Waleri, Renals, i est venuz;
Henriis li fiz Gerold, qui ert des renus druz:
Gilebert Foliot, qui ne s'i fist pas muz;
E des autres plusurs e jovenes e chanuz.
Tels i parla purquant qui fu ful tenuz.
Devant la Pape esturent li messagier real:
Alquant discient bien, pluisur diseient mal:

legates to be sent to England with full power to dispose of the troublesome primate, he insisted on keeping the final judgment of the case in his own hands.

Shortly afterwards Becket arrived at Sens. By the cardinals, who had lately accepted presents from Henry's ambassadors, he met with a cool reception; but the Pope showed him great consideration, and sent him to the neighbouring abbey of Pontigny. This favour exasperated the king, who banished all the kindred of the archbishop, and suspended the collection of Peter's Pence. He wrote wrathfully to the Pope, made overtures to the Emperor, and threatened to support the anti-Pope; but in the end seemed to fancy that he could effect more by diplomacy.

In close imitation of Adrian's communications with Barbarossa, the primate addressed his sovereign—at first with papal severity disguised under courteous expressions. A Cistercian monk of mild appearance became his messenger. Henry's reply was brief and caustic. Becket tried another epistle in a style condescending and compassionate. The king did not deign to notice it Then the arch-

Li alquant en Latin, tel ben tel anomal,
Tel qui fist personel del verbe impersonal,
Singuler e plurel eveit tut pur igal.
Tels i ont des prelaz parla si egrement,
Que la Pape li dist—"Fratre, tempreement:
Car mesdire de lui ne sufferai neent."
Lur paroles n'ai pas tutes çi en present,
Mais de çe que unt requis dirrai mun escient."

—MS. Harleian, No. 270. "Leben des h. Thomas von Canterbury," Altfranzösisch, herausgegeben von Immanuel Bekker.

bishop sent a tattered monk with an insolent message: both were treated with deserved contempt.

In all these demonstrations the papal influence is apparent, direct or indirect. From his personal interchange of ideas with Alexander III. at Tours, to his interview with him at Sens, there were frequent communications by letters and messages. After he had fled from England, the correspondence grew more frequent and more confidential; but it presently became obvious that the archbishop had become more papal than the Pope. At least he stood out against the suggestions of his spiritual superior quite as stoutly as he had stood out against the conciliatory propositions of his king. Henry had offered to accept the same amount of obedience which the humblest of his predecessors had received from the greatest of the archbishops; but the disciple of the deceased Pontiff cultivated *arrières pensées*, which he chose to cherish without reference to anything but his own ambition.

Alexander, on the 11th of November, 1165, returned to Rome. As soon as he found himself sufficiently secure, he extended his favour to the fugitive archbishop, by appointing him legate over all England, except the diocese of York. This afforded Becket the means of carrying on the quarrel in a thoroughly papal manner. In the church of Vezelay he ascended the pulpit, and before the congregation annulled the constitutions to which he had sworn, excommunicated whoever had had anything to do with them, anathematized every prelate who had supported the king in his proceedings against himself, and absolved all his

subjects from their allegiance. As though perfectly satisfied that he had rivalled his model by this demonstration, he wrote triumphantly to the English clergy: "Who shall presume to doubt that the priests of God are the fathers and *masters* of kings, princes, and of all the faithful?"

The king lost no time in retaliating with a measure of extraordinary severity against all who should respect the interdict, or bring it into the country; moreover, he appealed to the Pope, sending Foliot, the learned bishop of London,* to plead his cause at Rome. The English hierarchy set their faces against the violent measures of their primate, and addressed the Pontiff in behalf of their sovereign. The restless archbishop sent a fiery communication to the papal court, calling the king and most of his ecclesiastical brethren hard names, but particularly denouncing an able churchman known as John of Oxford. No better idea of his excessive papal pretensions can be gathered than from the arrogance and insolence of his language to every one, layman or priest, who chose to remain loyal to his sovereign. His flowers of rhetoric are sometimes, it cannot be denied, extremely offensive.

Pope Alexander was now in a more conciliatory mood. Barbarossa was threatening another over-

* This prelate was assailed with the most virulent theological abuse by the archbishop's friends. We quote a specimen from the poem referred to a few pages back :—

"En cel message vint Gilebert Foliot.
Des lettre sout assez, e servi Astorot:
Mais puis avint tel jur que il s'en tint pur sot,
Que encontre le saint humme eut parlé un sul mot.
De Sodome est eissuz, e suit les traces Lot."

whelming invasion of Italy; and when John of Oxford arrived at Rome, not only with full credentials, but with a full purse, he found cardinals and Pope equally open to argument. Another embassy followed from Henry, possibly with fuller credentials and purse, for the Pope conceded the request of sending legates to England to decide the cause, while he suspended the proceedings of the archbishop—with his customary duplicity writing privately to him to urge the necessity of dissembling. The appointment of the cardinals William of Pavia and Otho of St. Nicholas alarmed Becket, who was well aware of their pecuniary failings. Alexander, insincere to the last, did not invest them with full powers. The concession proved to be another of his deceptions.*

The advance of the Emperor into the Roman states was a repetition of former imperial progresses in the same direction. Rome was captured, and the Pope, who would gladly now have purchased the intervention of the powerful king of England with the sacrifice of a dozen Beckets, was reduced to the last extremity. Suddenly the chapter of accidents forms the *Deus ex machinâ;* a terrible pestilence so dreadfully thins the ranks of the German host, that a hasty retreat across the Alps alone secures it from general destruction.

No sooner was the Pope again in power, than he and Becket were once more in perfect accord. The legates summoned the archbishop to meet them in the presence of the kings of England and France at Gisors. Henry made an earnest appeal to the

* Giles, "Life and Letters of Thomas Becket," ii. 194.

prelates to rid him of that troublesome churchman. The cardinal of Pavia appears to have recommended that he should be translated to another see; but the decision of the case was deferred for a year, restraint being laid upon him during the interval. He complained bitterly to the Pope; but another embassy from Henry, bearing of course the usual retainers, induced Alexander to confirm the arrangement of the two cardinals. It was hoped that the quarrel might now die a natural death.

Missive after missive from the restless archbishop was sent to the Pope, scolding, imploring, exhorting, complaining, and dreadfully abusing John of Oxford and the English ambassadors. Alexander remained at Benevento, Rome still being unsafe, and the contributions of the king of England had become extremely acceptable. He offered excuses to his fiery correspondent for the concessions he had made, averring that they were only temporary. At this Becket broke out into invective, styling himself and his friends the saviours of the Church, and stigmatizing the Pontiff and the cardinals for their venality.

Cardinal Baronius, who must have had access to the best sources of information, states that King Henry, in his desire to get rid of Becket, offered Alexander to pay his debts and present him with 2,000 marks, if he would find the obnoxious primate employment elsewhere.* This the Pontiff could easily have done, but his subtle mind apprehended difficulties in the proposed translation, while he foresaw advantages from a continuance of the

* "Annales," sub anno 1169.

quarrel. It was one of spiritual against temporal power, and the Papacy was bound to support it; consequently the clergy were presently made to understand that the English king was a Pharaoh and his laws arbitrary, while the archbishop was the champion of God and the Church.*

Alexander must by this time have been getting tired of his protégé. He was too prudent to create him a cardinal; Becket's infinitely papal spirit would never have tolerated a superior. The safest plan was to bring about a reconciliation between him and the king, so that he might go back to Canterbury and resume the duties of his diocese. A meeting took place between Henry and Becket at Montmirail, 6th January, 1169, where attempts at an adjustment of the quarrel were made. Herebert of Bosham accompanied his patron. According to his own statement, it was he who had kept up the papal spirit in the exile, as if he were really the medium of Adrian's influence; he asserts also that just before the interview, he whispered a caution to the primate not to repeat his false step in acceding to the Constitutions of Clarendon. The result was that the archbishop stood firm in "saving the honour of God," as a condition on which he would submit his case for judgment. This offered too wide an opening for evasion. The quarrel was as far from a settlement as ever. In truth, hostilities soon broke out afresh.

The Pope again leaned towards the archbishop, and the English bishops began to waver. Two more papal legates were sent, and they met the king at Damport, and then at Bayeux. Their con-

* "Annales," A.D. 1170.

ference was now so animated as to be near a quarrel, and now so calm as to approach a reconciliation. Other conferences followed at Caen and at Rouen; but when they were close upon an agreement, as each party insisted on a saving condition, one for his crown and the other for the Church, and as neither would give way, it ended without any result, except another appeal to Rome.

Becket again began excommunicating and intriguing with the English bishops to lay the entire country under an interdict; then Henry, mistrusting his clergy and wearied out with the strife, entered into another negotiation, which was equally fruitless as the preceding. The king caused a stringent proclamation to be published, threatening the punishment due to high treason to any one importing letters from the Pope or the archbishop. Now the Pope thought proper to make another effort at a settlement. Two other diplomatists were named,—the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers, and they were authorized to deal strictly with both parties, if they did not come to terms. Nevertheless there was an evident leaning on the part of the Pontiff to the king of England, whose adroit ambassador, John of Oxford, had spared no *arguments* that ought to induce the court of Rome to assist his master. The result was that he gave absolution to the excommunicated bishops of London and Salisbury, and authorized the archbishop of York to perform the coronation of Henry's eldest son.

The rage of Becket at these obvious attacks on his power and prerogative was terrible. He wrote

to Rome in his most vituperative style, referring to himself as Christ crucified there, and to his opponents as impenitent thieves. He vowed to appeal no more to such a tribunal, but to God; and expressed his readiness to die. It was evident that he abandoned all hopes of entering the Sacred College. His papal demonstrations had been premature; he should have waited, like his illustrious countryman, till he had got firmly seated in the chair of St. Peter, before he had assumed papal authority. The cardinals were against him, and the Pope could no longer be relied upon.

Nevertheless the indomitable resolution refused to give way. He might assert his readiness to die; but he presently determined to let his enemies know that he intended to live, to their confusion. There seemed to be always De Bosham at his elbow to revive the Adrian spirit, when it sank, and it was with this spirit intensified he wrote to the English prelates most opposed to him, insisting on their publishing his interdict. The archbishop expected to weary out opposition; indeed, the king was getting impatient of the contest, and was ready to seize on any expedient that promised to put an end to it.

At last Henry caught at a hint from one of his counsellors that the troublesome primate might be more easily managed in England than on the continent; an interview was at once arranged at Fretteville, and it was followed by a treaty and a reconciliation. The weathercock at Rome now veered to the opposite quarter of the ecclesiastical compass, and the Pope suspended or excommunicated

all the English prelates who had shown fidelity to their king. A few months later the archbishop returned to his diocese, as elate as Adrian in his moment of greatest triumph.

Overflowing with morbid pride, his actions proved that if he could not be a pope in Rome, he insisted on being one in England. He privately sent over his letters of excommunication against the obnoxious bishops, whose faces he threatened to fill with ignominy; and on his landing, commenced a systematic aggression upon all, clergy and laity, who had given him offence. This course he was encouraged to take by the popular demonstrations made in his favour, as he pursued his stately progress towards the metropolis, and thence to Canterbury, attended by an increasing retinue of zealous friends and admirers.

Bitter complaints of his despotism, as well as hints of his doubtful loyalty, were carried to the king, who, exasperated beyond all control, broke out into a taunting reproach of his courtiers for not having preserved him from the insults of a low-born and turbulent priest. Neither the suggestion, nor the stigma passed unheard or unfelt; in truth, there was scarcely a layman present who was not quite as impatient of the troublesome primate as his sovereign; but four of the king's chamberlains, Reginald Fitz-Urse, Hugh de Moreville, Reginald de Brito, and William de Tracey, considered themselves to have been directly appealed to, and after a short conference among themselves, secretly left the court.

The archbishop had arrived at Canterbury, had

dined in the hall of his palace, and thence retired to a private apartment, when strangers were announced bearing a royal message. Orders were given for their admission, and the four knights entered. Sir Reginald Fitz-Urse was spokesman, and his intention seems to have been to get Becket to alter his offensive proceedings, especially his opposition to the coronation of Prince Henry and excommunication of the king's friends. The prelate was obstinate, haughty, and fierce. No pope ever exhibited a more profound sense of his superiority, than did the archbishop, when face to face with the four resolute chamberlains.

"The king commands you and your disloyal abettors to quit the kingdom," sternly cried Fitz-Urse.

"It is not becoming of the king to give such commands," replied the primate, still more sternly; and then defiantly added, "No power on earth shall part me and my flock."

An altercation ensued that momentarily grew more fierce. One of the knights warned him of his peril, but this only provoked the spirited churchman to more open defiance. John of Salisbury, who was present, seems to have felt a conviction that such intemperance would end ill. The exciting scene came to a climax when Sir Reginald Fitz-Urse called on all present to arrest the traitor. Of course none of his devoted friends ventured to lay hands on him, and the knights having come unarmed, did not attempt to use force. Seeing the archbishop standing undaunted among his friends and retainers, who had no doubt hastened to his assistance at the sound of

angry dispute, the confederates rushed out of the building calling for their arms.

They had strong support in the city. Neighbouring laymen, who had a long-standing quarrel with the primate respecting their lands, accompanied by armed men, were presently seen thronging towards the building, shouting furiously. John of Salisbury, seeing his misgivings were likely to be verified, endeavoured to put in a word of caution while the gates were fastened; but the papal spirit stood resolute. An assault was made upon the closed doors, and the din of hammers and the cries of the assailants could be plainly heard. Service was about to commence in the adjoining cathedral, to which he was conducted by his friends. But he insisted on having his crosier borne before him, and thus proceeded to the sacred edifice with the usual state. As he passed along the aisle, the tread of armed men was heard hurrying along the cloister: and all except three of his companions ran away in abject terror. These were Edward Grim, his standard-bearer, Fitz-Stephen (both wrote his life), and Robert, a canon of Merton, where he received his schooling. These stood faithful, but in fear and trembling, between the altar of the Virgin and that dedicated to St. Benedict.

"Where is the traitor?" was heard, with other cries; and figures of grim warriors bearing deadly weapons came rushing along the aisle.

"Behold me!" replied the undaunted churchman. "No traitor—but God's priest."

Even then he might have saved his life. The errand of the chamberlains was to force the abso-

lution of the excommunicated prelates, to save the honour of the king. It was the first thing they demanded as they approached the primate. But his resolution did not falter. They then called upon him to surrender to the king. This he not only refused to do, but when they attempted his arrest, he seized De Tracey, dashed him on the stone pavement, and stigmatized Fitz-Urse with the revolting epithet of pander,—in his passion dealing taunts and insults right and left. Flesh and blood could not endure further provocation. The insulted knight struck the first blow with his sword. The faithful standard-bearer, trying to ward it off, had his arm nearly cut in two; nevertheless the sharp blade fell on the prelate's head and drew blood. De Tracey was now on his feet, and, exasperated by his fall, struck fiercely. "Lord receive my spirit!" exclaimed the martyr, as he fell with a mortal wound. His assailants struck other blows; and one, who had been a priest, probably degraded by the primate, stamped out his brains. Then they disappeared, it has been alleged, to plunder the place.

When all was quiet and safe, out from their hiding-places in the roof, in the crypt, in the dark nooks and secret corners of the cathedral, came the chapter, came the monks, came choristers, acolytes, crosier-bearer, and other functionaries, to behold a spectacle that appalled their souls,—the maimed official bleeding, the holy place reeking like a shamble, the archbishop crushed and dead.

News of this outrage flashed through Europe, every priest denouncing the sacrilege, as well as the murder. It flashed through France, as though it

would blight the name of the monarch in whose name the deed had been perpetrated. It flashed through Italy, and impelled the mind of the shifting Pope to instant reprisals. It is just possible that this abrupt conclusion of a dispute which had been exceedingly profitable to the court of Rome, and might have been more so, influenced Alexander in his first view of the dreadful incident. Probably, however, the person most deeply affected by it was Henry, who saw and dreaded the load of opprobrium it would draw down upon his head.

The Pope, then at Tusculum, was proceeding to pronounce excommunication, as well as an interdict throughout the king's dominions, when ambassadors arrived, offering the royal submission, and doubtless substantial proofs of their master's sincerity and liberality. Negotiations were commenced and on May 22, 1172, the king, in the church of Avranches, publicly protested his innocence, and made proposals of service to the Church, which were accepted. Subsequently—12th July, 1174—he presented himself as a penitent at the tomb of his opponent, in Canterbury Cathedral, and permitted himself to be scourged by the monks.

Lord Lyttelton, in his life of Henry II., has left the following estimate of this distinguished Anglican prelate:—"A man of great talents, of elevated thoughts, and of invincible courage, but of a most violent and turbulent spirit, excessively passionate, haughty, and vain-glorious, in his resolutions inflexible, in his resentments implacable. It cannot be denied that he was guilty of a wilful and premeditated perjury, that he opposed the necessary course of public

justice, and acted in defiance of the laws of his country, laws which he had most solemnly acknowledged and confirmed. Nor is it less evident that during the heat of this dispute, he was in the highest degree ungrateful to a very kind master, whose confidence in him had been boundless, and who from a private condition had advanced him to be the second man in the kingdom."

"On what motives he acted," adds the historian, "can be certainly judged of by Him alone 'to whom all hearts are open.'"

These motives are the same that have actuated all ultra-churchmen in all ages; the same that directed the conduct of his exemplar and compatriot, who had flourished during a portion of his brilliant career: they arose from a conviction of the supremacy of the Church, and a consciousness of the necessity of maintaining it. That Becket aspired to hold the same authority, there can be as little doubt as that had he become Pope he would have proved worthy of the affix added to the names of the most distinguished pontiffs. Though he did not directly infuse his English energy into the Papacy, his fame gave it a powerful impulse, and strengthened the conviction left by the life and labours of Adrian IV., that the most ambitious policy was the safest and the best.

Few ecclesiastics have been in such favour with biographers as Thomas Becket. Narratives of his personal history were compiled not only by three of his own personal attendants, Herebert de Bosham, William Fitz-Stephen, and Edward Grim; by his friends, John of Salisbury and Roger of Pontigny;

by his contemporaries, William of Canterbury and Garnier de Pont; but by chroniclers who flourished shortly afterwards, and anonymous writers of the same century,—Ranulph de Diceto, John of Brompton, Alan, abbot of Tewkesbury, Gervase of Tilbury. Hovedon, and Roger, prior of Freston, as well as the author of a MS. preserved in the Lambeth Library. Four of these are included in the "Quadrilogus," printed in Paris in the year 1495; but a much better collection has more recently been made by Dr. Giles. These, and several others, are written with so evident a partiality, by members of the same profession, that much of their eulogium must be taken *cum grano*.

Should the reader require a work written in a totally different spirit, he may consult "De Canonizatione Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum," by a later writer,—Richard James, preserved in MS. in the Bodleian Library.

By this time the dead archbishop possessed more than papal veneration.* He had not only been canonized, but had become the most popular saint in the calendar. Even the fame of the English Pope had paled before that of this ecclesiastical luminary. Numberless miracles were said by the Canterbury priests to have taken place at his shrine, a pilgrimage to which became as fashionable to the religious world as previously one had been to Rome.

* The effect of fashion in such matters is shown in the account of the offerings of the pilgrims to the three principal shrines in Canterbury in one year: *Becket*, £832. 12s. 6d.; *the Virgin*, £93. 5s. 6d.; *the Saviour*, £3. 2s. 6d. In another year: *Becket*, £554. 6s. 3d.; *the Virgin*, £4s. 1s. 8d.; *the Saviour*, nothing.—Somner, "Antiquities of Canterbury."

Indeed so profound was the impression created in Europe by this additional infusion of Anglican energy into the papal system, that Catholic writers appear bound to express their gratitude in endless eulogiums on the hero and the martyr.

Justice was done on Becket's murderers; but here retributive vengeance stopped. The king's ecclesiastical friends not only remained unmolested, but John of Oxford five years later became bishop of Norwich, and Foliot, bishop of London, grew higher in the royal favour than ever. Nor were the archbishop's friends neglected: John of Salisbury was elevated to the bishopric of Chartres. Respecting his other secretary, to whose peculiar influence we attribute much of his ultra-papal zeal, Cardella refers to Bosham, otherwise Bossenhan, as celebrated for the progress he had made in scholastic study in the most celebrated schools of France and England, particularly in philosophy and theology, and gives authority for stating that after his patron's murder he was elevated to the rank of archbishop of Benevento and cardinal (in 1178), but allows that it has been asserted by an English writer that there was another Herebert Bosham.*

* A volume of his letters is preserved among Archbishop Parker's MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as well as an incomplete copy of his "Life of Becket;" and with these, aided by an imperfect MS. found at Arras, Dr. Giles has produced an excellent edition of his works and correspondence for the "Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." In his preface to the second volume the learned editor denies that he was ever created a cardinal. This has been done before, but on no conclusive evidence. Pope Alexander unquestionably entertained a high opinion of De Bosham, and corresponded with him; and the ex-secretary's well-known zeal for

He refers to different contradictory authorities on the subject. According to his account, Cardinal De Bosham died in 1186.*

William Fitz-Stephen appears to have been born in London, of which he has left the best contemporary description extant. He was a monk of Canterbury, and filled many employments under the archbishop: remembrancer in his exchequer, subdeacon in his chapel, clerk, reader, and advocate.† He was also sent on a mission to the Pope. He survived his patron many years, and is believed to have died about 1191. Having pleased King Henry by presenting him with a Latin prayer in verse, preserved in his Life of Thomas, he was not molested when the royal anger was strongest against the former favourite. He seems to have employed himself in literary composition after the primate's death, and, there is reason to believe, wrote at least one work besides his biography. In the "Quadrilogus" there is a collection of miracles ascribed to "William of Canterbury," supposed to be Fitz-Stephen.

the Church and devotion to his patron must have been powerful recommendations to the Pontiff. This subject will be further illustrated in the Appendix to this volume. The reader is referred to Dr. Giles's "Life and Letters of Thomas Becket," 2 vols., 1846, and his "Herberti de Boseham," 2 vols., 1845.

Anthony Wood, following Leland, states that Bossa was the name of an apostle of the South Saxons, whence the place in Sussex derived its appellation, and that Herebert flourished at Oxford about 1168, where, according to Bale, "liberalium artium [as one hath] ac scholasticæ Theologiæ magisterium adeptus est." He also makes him archbishop of Benevento.

* "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali," &c., ii. 121.

† Proleg. in Vita Thomæ.

The papal annalists mention other English cardinals as belonging to this century; but they are either of doubtful creation or too obscure for a detailed biography. It may as well here be remarked, that accounts of them from such sources are rarely to be relied upon, though unsatisfactorily brief. Though traces of them must have been left in the pontifical archives, respecting their legations and correspondence, no research has been attempted in that direction, or in any other. Moreover, no slight amount of carelessness has been shown in compiling the English portion of the list: a fault equally apparent in some of our own early illustrators of ecclesiastical biography.

We must enumerate among these doubtful Princes of the Church, "Ulricus Odolricus," described as pontifical legate in England in the year 1109. He may have been legate; it does not follow that he was cardinal. "Galfridus Monumethensis," said to have flourished in the first quarter of the century. "Theobaldus Stampensis" was a distinguished teacher at Oxford. He became a master of the university and governor of one of the halls, and had under his tuition from sixty to a hundred scholars. He wrote a book against the regular clergy, which he dedicated to the primate Thurstan.* He was nominated by King Stephen bishop of Winchester, 2nd February, 1123, and three years later elected archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent II. is said to have created him a cardinal;†

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch), i. 140.

† Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius" (Richardson), Cantab. 1743, fol. See list at the end.

but there is reason to believe that he also was merely clothed with legatine powers.

John Cummin is stated to have been elevated to the dignity of cardinal priest in 1183. He was appointed archbishop of Dublin, and enjoys the credit of having built the metropolitan church.

The pride and opulence of English ecclesiastics are made sufficiently manifest by Roger of Wendover's description of William, bishop of Ely, the papal legate and justiciary of England towards the close of the twelfth century. The legateship he is accused of having secured by a bribe of a thousand pounds of silver, and his exactions became intolerable to the clergy. His state was supported by a travelling retinue of fifteen hundred attendants, exclusive of clerks and a military guard. At table he was served by sons of the nobility, and followed by music and singing, "as though a choir of angels accompanied the omnipotent God to Heaven." He possessed himself of whatever towns, castles, churches, and lands lay in his way, and struck terror into the hearts of the people by his tyranny and extortion. At last the nobles entered into a combination against him. He endeavoured to escape out of the country in the disguise of a woman, but was discovered and maltreated; nevertheless he subsequently contrived to cross the Channel.

Book the Second.

ENGLISH CARDINALS OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

STEPHEN LANGTON, CARDINAL AND ARCHBISHOP.
ROBERT CURZON, CARDINAL LEGATE.

Stephen Langton's Course of Study—a Love Song paraphrased—is appointed Chancellor of the University of Paris—invited to Rome, and created Cardinal—Disputed Election to the See of Canterbury—Innocent III. appoints him Primate—King John enraged—England placed under Interdict—the Cardinal Archbishop's Mission to Philip Augustus—England threatened with Invasion—John surrenders his Kingdom to the Pope—the Cardinal returns to England—his Patriotism—is hated by King John—Religious Movement in Metz—Character of Innocent III.—England in Revolt—Runnymede—Magna Charta drawn up by the Cardinal—the Pope protects King John, and suspends the Archbishop—Accession of Henry III.—Pandulph—the Cardinal returns to his See—Festival in honour of Becket—his Regulations for the Clergy—directs the Popular Party in England—Corruption at Rome—his Death—his Services—Cardinal Curzon.

STEPHEN LANGTON'S course of study appears to have been the same as that previously followed by his countrymen, John of Salisbury, Robert le Poule, and Walter Mapes, with such distinction.* Much of this was of a strictly anti-

* "And without doubt all impartial men may receive it for an undeniable truth, that the most subtle arguing in school divinity

quarian, much of a purely scholastic character. There was the *quadrivium*,—what was known of mathematics and physics; in addition, rhetoric, to enable the scholar to carry on disputations on subtle points of philosophy and theology. The study of the Scriptures, and of the Fathers, was enforced on the divinity student, and several classical authors were mastered, as well as Aristotle, and the principal philosophers and historians. Lucan and Persius, Priscian and Tully were eagerly perused. Not unfrequently love-songs and romances were quite as popular, and many clever students amused their leisure with the composition of both. These employments were varied by occasional fights between "gown and town," in which the scholars of the Middle Ages were quite as active as undergraduates sometimes have been in the nineteenth century. Many of Langton's early productions have been lost, as well as a historical work known to have been written by him, a "Life of Richard Cœur de Lion." He was also a poet then, and subsequently. No trace has been left us of his *Hexameron*, written in hexameters,—the subject, the six days of the Creation. But there is a poem by him preserved in MS. in the Archiepiscopal

did take its beginning in England and from Englishmen, and also from thence it went to Paris, other parts of France, and at length into Italy, Spain, and other nations, as is by one observed [Alex. Minutianus in 'Epistola quadam,'—vide Pitseum, æt. 13, in Alex. Hales]. So that, though Italy boasteth that Britain had her Christianity first from Rome, England may truly maintain that from her (immediately by France) Italy first received her school divinity."—Anthony Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 160.

library at Lambeth Palace, entitled *Carmen de Contemptu Mundi.* A more singular, but highly characteristic specimen of the author's style, is a short composition illustrating a *chanson* then popular among the students of Paris, which he turned to the honour of the Mother of God by a learned commentary on each phrase. The original verse ran thus:—

Bele Aliz matin leva
sun cors vesti e para
enz un verger s'en entra
cink flurettes y truva
Un chapelet fet en a
de rose flurie;
Pur Deu trahez vus en là,
vus ki ne amez mie.

The pious remarks on these amorous sentences are too long for insertion entire; but their character and spirit may be understood by those given to the last two lines:—

"Sequitur—*Pur Deu treez vus en là, vus ke ne amez mie!* Quibus dictum est hoc, '*treez vus en là, vus ke ne amez mie*, hereticis, paganis, et falsis Christianis, qui non credunt Christi resurrectionem, et qui blasphemant eum. Talibus dictum est *treez vus en là, vus ke ne amez mie, i.e.*, Ite maledicti in ignem æternum, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Esurivi enim, et non dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi, et non dedistis mihi bibere; nudus fui, et non cooperuistis me; hospes fui, et non suscepistis me; infirmus fui, et non visitastis me; in carcere fui, et non venistis ad me. Talibus dictum est hoc, *treez vus en là, ki ne amez mie, i.e.*, Ite maledicti in ignem

æternum, qui præparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus. Per prædicta patet quod ista est *bele Aliz*, de qua prædiximus, est regina justitiæ, mater misericordiæ, quæ portavit regem cœlorum et dominum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus, Amen!"

Such curious conjunctions of spiritual with very mundane matters—attempts at Divinity made easy—appear to have been popular with divinity students, and this example long afterwards was regarded as a model for similar productions. In Latin, in Norman-French, and in early English, there are specimens extant of a like theological embroidery on a profane ground.

Stephen must have had a contemporary in his countryman Alexander Neckham, one of the ablest professors of the university from 1180 to about 1187; a scholar of very varied acquirements, who was abbot of Cirencester in 1213. His writings on many subjects, grammatical, philosophical, and poetical, are still in MS.* English students were still attracted to Paris by the high reputation of its professors; and several who entered the school subsequently rose to eminence in the Anglican Church.

Stephen gave all the powers of his mind up to the task of mastering dialectics and the ordinary scholastic course; became a sound grammarian and logician; then practised versification, especially hexameters, which he wrote fluently. He remained many years at the university—years of hard study and of honourable advancement. He so distinguished himself in classical as well as Biblical scholarship as

* Interesting specimens have been published in the "Biographia Britannica Litteraria"—Anglo-Norman Period.

to obtain the title of Doctor, and having adopted the Church as a profession, was raised to the post of canon of the cathedral of Notre Dame. His reputation as a professor of humanity and theology largely increased the number of students; subsequently his great merit was recognized by his appointment to the dignity of chancellor, or president. Among his biblical labours at this time was a division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses; his claim to this novelty has been disputed by French scholars, in behalf of a certain Hugh de St. Cher, their countryman. He also wrote several commentaries on various books of the Old Testament, distinguished by the spirit of subtle criticism and laboured disquisition then in vogue: a few are preserved in MS. at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as some of his sermons.

Stephen lived at Paris, surrounded by the enjoyments procurable by a good income. It has been stated that he possessed preferment in England as well as in France; that he received the emoluments of a prebendary in York cathedral, in addition to his salary and other gains as head of the university, including another ecclesiastical appointment he held at Rheims.* There is no doubt that he mixed in the best society, and made friendship with the most distinguished students and professors. Among the former was Lothaire (a near relation of Pope Clement III.), who, after his return to Rome, was appointed a cardinal: he must have then been the junior member of the Sacred College. About eight or nine years later, when in his thirty-seventh year,

* Cave, "Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria."

Lothaire succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, and evinced the regard he had cherished for his English friend, by cordially inviting him to the Holy City, and reserving for him an honourable post in his household.

The prospect thus opening to Stephen's ambition was too enticing to be rejected. He might remain where he was, pleasantly occupied with inspiration from *la belle Alice*, to turn to divine profit; but he knew well that he would be able to do better things for the Blessed Virgin as well as for himself, under the auspices of his friend Lothaire, now bearing the title of Pope Innocent III. Nevertheless, many ties connected him with Paris, and he did not sever them without reluctance.

Stephen possessed abilities of a high order, and as an administrator and advocate of the Church was likely to prove of special service to the new Pope. Soon after his arrival at the Holy See he gave a series of lectures: they attracted the Roman religious community, including the Pontiff, and excited general admiration. Innocent, satisfied that no dignity could be too elevated for a mind with the qualities his college friend had displayed, in the year 1206—according to some authorities 1212—elevated him to the dignity of cardinal priest of Chrysogonus.*

About the commencement of the thirteenth century the condition of England was extremely unsatisfactory: the continental war produced the loss of Normandy; much distress existed among the labouring class; the barons and knights were dissatisfied, and the priesthood cared for their own

* "Histoire Littéraire de France," xviii. 51. Ciaconius. Cardella.

interests rather than for the souls of their flocks*—as a quaint historian avers, "looking at London, but rowing to Rome, carrying Italian hearts in English bodies."† It was at this period that King John and the Pope strove to make a quarrel respecting the election of a primate.

The see of Canterbury had become vacant, and the monks of the cathedral city, either feeling a particular regard for the man, or hoping by his elevation to gain an indulgent friend, had secretly among themselves chosen their sub-prior. They hurried over his installation, and having gone through their processions, their chantings, and their prayers, they had their sub-prior placed at the high altar of the cathedral, and then in the archiepiscopal throne; finally believing that they had found a worthy successor to Lanfranc and Becket, they lost no time in sending a deputation to Rome to get the proper sanction to the election.

King John, as soon as the demise of the primate became known to him, selected the bishop of Norwich as his successor, and in a large assembly of the chapter and inferior clergy he was elected arch-

* One of the quarrels for precedence that occasionally disgraced churchmen in England is thus described as having occurred in the last quarter of the preceding century:—"A synod was called (1176) at Westminster, the Pope's legate being present thereat, on whose right hand sat Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, as in his proper place. When in springs Roger of York, and finding Canterbury so seated, fairly sits him down on Canterbury's lap (a baby too big to be danced thereon); yea, Canterbury his servants dandled this lap-child with a witness, who plucked him thence, and buffeted him to purpose."—Fuller, "Church History" (Brewer), book iii. p. 113.

† Id. ibid., p. 140.

bishop. Then away went another deputation to secure the papal authority. A third party now came forward,—the prelates of the archiepiscopal see, who denounced the preceding elections as irregular, and sent messengers to Rome to maintain their right of assisting in the election.*

A fruitful source of dispute were rival ecclesiastical privileges; and they were constantly being contended for with the most unseemly virulence. The ultimate decision in this case, as usual, rested with the Pontiff or the Roman courts, and every possible influence was put in requisition to secure a favourable verdict—a bribe of 3,000 marks was now offered to the Pope, and refused. In this instance all parties—king, bishops, and monks—were nonsuited. Innocent desired to place a person in his confidence at the head of the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church; he also saw the necessity of having in so responsible a post the ablest churchman he could select. The members of the different deputations were therefore directed to assemble, and in his presence elect the cardinal of Chrysogonus. It was in vain they tried evasion and betrayed disinclination; they were mastered, and with one exception agreed to the election, which took place in December.† Having succeeded, Innocent condescended to write an apologetic letter to the king, accompanied with a valuable ring, dwelling on the fact of the great sacrifice he was making in parting with the wisest and most trustworthy of his counsellors; he wrote also to the prior and chapter,

* Matt. West., 1206.

† Matthew of Westminster states that the Pope at first gave judgment in favour of the monks.

as well as to the suffragans of Canterbury, to reconcile them to their disappointment.

The Pope had mentioned his friend as a man of profound wisdom, elegant person, and faultless morals, but it was not till he had given him consecration at Viterbo. But the king, enraged with this summary disposal of the case, wrote to the Pontiff a very angry letter, dispossessed and banished the Canterbury monks, and confiscated their goods. He refused to sanction the papal appointment; and in reply to the eulogium on Langton as an incomparable master in learning and morals, and in every respect the fittest person to be primate, affected to know nothing about him except that he had long lived in amity with his enemies in France. He expressed a determination to prevent his entering upon the office. From this time he commenced an active warfare against all scholars and priests who in the slightest degree opposed his will.

The court of Rome had a full appreciation of the value of the precedents set them by the English Pope and an English archbishop. Langton, a prelate of equal ability and spirit, was amongst them, possessed of their confidence; and when the king of England raved with disappointment, and threatened to make his kingdom independent of the Papacy, he was replied to with the menace that if he persevered in his opposition his dominions would be placed under an interdict. John burst out into uncontrollable fury against Pope and cardinals, swearing "by the teeth of God" to drive every priest out of the country, and slit the noses of every Roman he could find in it. In March, 1208, the dreaded sentence was published,

and all religious worship ceased throughout the land. But the misery of his subjects did not affect their monarch; it only increased his animosity against the clergy. A robber was brought before him charged with having killed a priest. The king caused him to be liberated, saying that the homicide had made him one enemy the less.

The cardinal's brother, Simon, at this period held a minor ecclesiastical appointment; and frequently through him the king attempted to come to a compromise. John and his primate met in March, 1208; but the angry monarch would not submit to authority. Two days later he addressed a letter to the people of Kent, acquainting them that he had been insulted by the demands of the Pope and the archbishop.

Cardinal Langton retired to Pontigny, where he gave himself up to literary occupations. While thus employed, he received information of the performance of the threatened judgment against King John. The interdict was being enforced. The most moving complaints reached the exiled pastor of the sufferings of his flock. Churches were closed, except in a few districts; and the clergy were obliged to hide themselves, to escape the king's anger and the importunities of those of their congregations who required spiritual consolation. Marriages and burials could only be accomplished by stealth, and at great inconvenience and risk, till dispensations were granted, which rarely came. A few prelates took the side of the king, and in their dioceses a better order of things prevailed. Enough, however, of misery existed to soften a harder heart than that possessed by Stephen Langton. To him now came several of

the most distinguished of his countrymen, with whom he privately conferred as to the best means of remedying the evils that afflicted England.

Langton, whatever favour he might have enjoyed at Rome, became unpopular in his own country. The author of some Latin rhymes anticipated his becoming another Becket; in other verses the bishops who supported the king were less favourably dealt with. A composition of an offensive tendency, in the same language, still more sharply assailed the Pope and his friends.* They probably emanated from opposite partisans in the universities, where the cardinal of Chrysogonus was roughly handled in discussions among the scholars, as the author of the mischief that afflicted their country.

The king made another effort at compromise, still, however, striving to preserve his dignity. He would do everything except receive the obnoxious Langton. The primate might have all the revenues of the see, but should not be permitted to enter England. Negotiations went on. John seemed at last reconciled to the archbishop, and sent him a safe-conduct; but when this was examined, it was found to contain no recognition of his archiepiscopal title. He was designated in it only as "the Cardinal."

The Pope now threatened excommunication; this John met by menacing with death any one who should bring such a sentence into the country. Presently friendly communications were interchanged by the king and Langton, and it was arranged that the latter should return. On

* Wright, "Political Songs."

this understanding the cardinal commenced his long delayed journey, and arrived in safety at Dover in October, 1209. Before he would present himself to his sovereign, who reluctantly came to meet him, he required a guarantee that the property of the Church which had been seized should be restored. John refused, and the archbishop hastily returned to France.

In the following year another meeting was arranged to take place at Dover. The king went there, but the cardinal received a warning and stayed away. So intense was the former's hostility, that when messengers from the papal court were admitted to his presence in August, 1211, he is reported to have threatened to hang Langton if he caught him on English ground. Wearied out, the cardinal archbishop went back to Rome; and John, believing in his triumph, indulged unchecked in habits of violence and licentiousness.

The cardinals were called upon to deliberate as to the next step to be taken. They counselled deposition; and the king of England was formally deposed. To aid in enforcing this sentence, the chief military commanders in Europe were earnestly appealed to to join in an armed demonstration. Philip Augustus of France was selected to be their leader, and the island was to be the price of his services. Matthew of Westminster states that Cardinal Langton was placed at the head of an embassy to the gallant crusader, and had the conduct of the negotiation for the conquest of his country. On the understanding that he should be well paid for his services, Philip organized a prodigious armament that threatened a repetition of the duke of

Normandy's achievement. Men, arms, and armour were collected, and ships were crowding the ports of France to transport them to the opposite coast. The English people were roused by their danger, and prepared for a stout resistance. The barons and the commonalty, however much they were dissatisfied with their sovereign, were not disposed to see their country become a French province.

Stephen Langton had to carry out his instructions. This is not the only instance in which an Englishman as an ambassador from the Holy See has lent himself to designs that threatened the subjugation of his country by a foreign power. Possibly the cardinal may have thought that more was threatened than intended, and therefore readily helped in coercing a tyrant to submit to the authority of the Church; but there is reason to believe that he had come to an understanding with the barons.

When a formidable armament was ready to take possession of the kingdom, Randulph, as legate of Innocent III., was sent to the king of England to warn him of the consequences of persisting in his contumacy. John was frightened. He was easily persuaded into a formal surrender of his dominions to the Pope, and then into as formal an acceptance of them as the Pope's vassal. In the words of the instrument of resignation, he said, we "do offer and freely grant to God, and to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Roman Church our mother, and to our lord the Pope Innocent III. and his successors, all the right of patronage which we have in the Anglican churches, and *the whole kingdom of England and the kingdom of*

Ireland, with all their rights and belongings, for the *remission of our sins and those of our whole race, both living and dead.*"*

The king of France had now to be cajoled into stopping armaments that had cost him immense sums; but the cardinal archbishop was provided with arguments as convincing for peace as they had before been for war. The disaffected barons, with whom he had opened a correspondence while at the French court, had also to be reconciled to this change in the political programme. John had become a faithful son of the Church, and was in the enjoyment of the Pope's protection. He had at last submitted himself to the Holy See; moreover, he had now entered into a solemn and binding engagement to accept the archbishop of Canterbury the Holy Father had selected for him.

In the month of July, the necessary guarantees having been obtained from the king, the cardinal archbishop once more quitted the coast of France. He landed at Dover with a large retinue, but it was not till the 20th that he was able to obtain his first interview. Near the old cathedral city of Winchester, on Magdalen Hill, he was met by the king. If Langton had entertained any misgivings as to his threatened suspension by the neck, they were speedily laid at rest. John appeared to be humbled into entire oblivion of his dignity; for, having alighted, his first act was to throw himself at the primate's feet imploring his pity. The latter was attended by his suffragans, most of whom had suffered severely by their sovereign's injustice; yet their

* Matt. West., anno 1213.

looks expressed profound commiseration. The king was at once raised from his humiliating position, with assurances of loyalty; then, having been placed between the cardinal archbishop and the bishop of London, he was made to join in a procession formed of the two retinues. Chanting the fiftieth psalm, in this order king, prelates, and attendants entered the old Anglo-Saxon city, crowds of anxious spectators testifying their sympathy and joy.

It was a memorable scene, and on one of the principal actors in it, it appears to have made a lasting impression. The cardinal archbishop, notwithstanding the holiday garb of the spectators, could not help discerning traces of the suffering, upon the industrial classes in particular, that had been caused by the interdict. His English heart felt compassion as he observed the care-worn faces of fathers, mothers, and children; their recent suffering could not be disguised by the intensity of their present jubilation when hailing, in his person, the herald of consolation and peace.

There waited the sons of flourishing merchants, easily distinguishable by their decent tippets, bordered tunics, high boots, and close-fitting leggings; and near them their seniors, dressed in the peak hood, long gowns, tunics, and mantles. Among the members of the court there was much finery. Cloth of gold and crimson embroidery, in mantle, tunic, and supertunic, gave rich colour to the grouping; there were also fine cloth mantles among the nobility, lined with black sables, and other beautiful fabrics decorated with gold and silver ornaments and precious stones. Here and there stood a soldier returned from the

Crusades—among the armed retainers of the barons in the king's suite,—Knights Hospitallers, Knights Templars, as well as other distinguished personages. The commonalty were distinguished by plain tunics, coarse hoods, and strong boots in the men, and long gowns and falling hoods in the women.

The quaint mediæval city was astir with human life on that day, when King John, between the two prelates, entered it, and passed through its eager, anxious population to the chapter-house of the cathedral. The clergy of the chapter took up the chant as they joined in the procession; notwithstanding that the land still lay under the interdict, and neither music nor any ecclesiastical display could be permitted, they thronged, in their sacred vestments, to do honour to their primate; as much as they were able increasing the picturesqueness of the imposing spectacle.

In the midst, downcast and subdued, walked the royal *Sans terre*. His consolation, however, was not in the words of the psalm that came swelling louder and louder upon the air; not in the presence of the archbishop and his suffragans; not in the satisfaction of the barons and the people; it was in the knowledge that in surrendering himself to the Pope, he had purchased the right to do as he pleased with those he hated.

The primate gazed into the faces of the over-tried barons and over-taxed people, and saw that they looked to him for help. He had been the Pope's ambassador in France, and had felt himself bound to maintain the Holy Father's interests. In England he felt himself head of the Anglican

Church, and determined to maintain English interests. Such a man could not but have despised the character of the king, while he must have had penetration enough to discern his perfidy.

A halt was called at the door of the chapter-house, whence one of the priests brought a manuscript copy of the Gospels. This was placed by the cardinal archbishop in the king's hand, and on it he was induced to swear that he would do all required of him as a good monarch and an obedient son of Holy Church, particularly in the restoration of property he had wrongfully seized from ecclesiastics and others; next he again swore fealty to the Holy Father, and his successors in the Papacy. Then as the king knelt before the primate, the latter, in the hearing of all around, gave him absolution for his sins.

King John resumed his walk between the two prelates from the chapter-house to the cathedral. Through the aisle passed the procession, the solemn chant filling its area, till the cardinal was seen on the topmost step of the chancel, before the high altar; and then the holiest of services was performed for the first time in that building for six years. Mass having concluded, the brilliant assembly retired.

The king invited the archbishop and his suffragans to the royal palace, and entertained them at his own table. In the town public rejoicings continued for three days, with the primate's sanction, which, as the interdict had not been withdrawn, was regarded at Rome as a grave offence. Stephen Langton, however, was beginning to feel himself an Englishman, and day after day entered

more deeply into the consideration of English interests.

In his see there was so much to be done to restore the order established by Lanfranc and Becket, that his time barely sufficed for the required labour; but the disorders in the kingdom forced themselves on his attention, and, after several conferences with the leading barons, he felt compelled to prove himself as good a patriot as he was an earnest churchman. King John went on his way, pretending to keep his promises, but striving to maintain so perfect an understanding at Rome as might enable him to evade them with impunity.

In Michaelmas, 1213, a legate arrived in England from the Pope to relieve the country from the interdict, as well as to obtain from the king a thousand marks, as tribute to his Holiness. The money was paid, and the legate was content. But the cardinal archbishop and his clergy wanted the promised compensation and restoration.* Pandulph and the king presently came to be of one mind; the Anglican Church and the Pope were as evidently about to differ. The tax on every house, known as Peter's

* Roger of Wendover has preserved the words of the agreement accepted by the king. "And immediately on the arrival of a fit person to absolve us, we will, in part restoration of the confiscated property, deliver to messengers deputed by the said archbishop, bishops, and monks of Canterbury, the sum of eight thousand pounds lawful sterling money, for discharging what is due, and for necessary expenses, to be carried to them without let or hindrance on our part, that they may be honourably recalled and returned to England as soon as possible." This sum was to be divided, the primate getting £2,500; the Canterbury monks, £1,000; and the bishops of London, Ely, Bath, and Lincoln, £750.

Pence, had hitherto been levied in England in the Pope's name; of the sum collected, three thousand marks had been transmitted to the Holy See, and the rest expended for ecclesiastical requirements in the Anglican Church. The Pope, now sure of the royal concurrence, insisted on having the whole, and the removal of the interdict was delayed by the legate till the sum was paid. Pandulph enforced his authority over archbishop and clergy, calling the former sharply to account for opposing the Holy Father. King John, delighted with the quarrel, encouraged the Pope's officer, and in perfect security renewed his acts of tyranny and spoliation.

The entire body of English clergy regarded the intolerant proceedings of the papal legate with so much indignation, that in January, 1214, the primate found himself forced to call a meeting of his suffragans at Dunstable, for most unfit men were constantly being placed in ecclesiastical offices, buying their preferment of the king and the legate. After much discussion, a prohibition was sent to Pandulph, in the name of the archbishop; but the Pope's officer treated it with contempt. The primate of the Anglican Church, in his eyes, had no authority to fill up vacancies: all such privileges belonged to the Pontiff, and, as his representative, he insisted on doing with them as he pleased. Moreover he sent to Rome a confidential messenger to uphold his pretensions. Here Simon Langton was vainly endeavouring to support the cause of his brother; but the Sacred College would not give him a hearing. The Holy Father, with the money before him his agent had collected, and the

representations he had written, was easily persuaded that the king of England was a most admirable character, and his friend of the Paris university an avaricious old hunks.

It was not till the month of June, 1214, that a settlement of the question was effected, and the interdict withdrawn — an arrangement perfectly satisfactory to the king, as it placed him beyond the influence of the priesthood and of the nobility; and was quite as distasteful to the English clergy, who were reduced to a state of vassalage to the legate. They did not accept this settlement so humbly as the court of Rome had expected; all classes and members of the different religious orders, who had been plundered during the interdict, pursued Pandulph with claims for compensation. He gave them only an insulting answer. Then the public indignation against him took so menacing a shape that he consulted his own safety by quitting the country.

The cardinal archbishop entered more and more into the cause of the barons, and of his other oppressed countrymen, and on the 25th of August, in St. Paul's Church* in London, he assembled the lay and spiritual peers then in England. Roger of Wendover says he took some of them aside and reminded them of a charter of Henry I., which secured them their liberties; and that then he had it read

* It had been rebuilt, the original structure having been consumed in a conflagration that took place in the year 1087. "A work that many of that time judged would never have been finished, it was to them so wonderful for length and breadth."—Stow, "Survey of London," 1603.

aloud to the assembly. It produced a great sensation. According to this chronicler, directly its purport was understood, all present swore that when an opportunity presented itself they would stand up for their rights, and, if necessary, die in upholding them. The Primate promised his assistance, and the mutual understanding having thus been completed, the assembly dispersed.

The king was abroad, but doubtless was made acquainted with these proceedings. According to Matthew Paris, he detested every one who dared to oppose his will; in the historian's words, he hated as he hated the poison of vipers, all the men of noble rank in the kingdom, especially Sayer de Quency, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury. They were leaders in the movement that had commenced against him, and he breathed vengeance against them all. He forwarded fresh bribes to Rome for the purpose of getting them excommunicated, and meanwhile collected a powerful army of foreign mercenaries with the object of pursuing them with fire and sword.

It must be admitted in behalf of Innocent III., that in many important things he showed himself worthy of his exalted vocation. The affairs of the Holy See, the administration of the Church of the Christian world, demanded excessive application; nevertheless he found time to fulfil his duty as a preacher at festivals. His sermons are eminently practical, and are distinguished by a protest against image-worship, as well as opposition to other forms of superstition. Much to his credit, when the bishop of Metz made him acquainted with an ambiguous

religious movement then spreading in his diocese, he cautioned that prelate against having recourse to violent measures of repression, desiring that no harm should be done to pious simplicity. Moreover, he wrote a letter to the sectarians, as they were considered, half of advice, half of remonstrance against their indiscretion — the reading of the Scriptures, and taking upon themselves the priestly office. The good people of Metz preferred their pious simplicity; they had set their diocesan at defiance, and now would not be persuaded or threatened by the Holy Father into an abandonment of their intention to seek a Christianity of readier access. Then Innocent, with apparent moderation, sent a commission to inquire into the practices of these enthusiasts, excluding their bishop. Unfortunately the report of the commissioners made out a connection between them and the condemned Waldenses. They were at once denounced as heretics, their assemblies were forcibly dispersed, and their translation of the Bible publicly burnt.

This desire for a purer faith was not confined to the bishopric of Metz. In England there were signs and tokens of a like impatience of papal direction; and the growing sense of injustice the people felt at the reckless exercise of the Pope's authority made some of the more enterprising think of the possibility of religious independence.

Innocent III. did not content himself with the subjection of so feeble-minded a monarch as the king of England. The cardinals saw the papal authority developed throughout Europe. Not only did this pontiff, following the policy of Adrian IV., firmly

establish the domination of the Papacy in Italy, but France, under the rule of Philip Augustus, was humbled by the same severe discipline that had humiliated John. Germany, Spain, and the more remote powers of Norway, Hungary, Poland, Dalmatia, and Bulgaria, were also forced to regard themselves as vassals of the Holy See. The rule of Innocent was indeed particularly glorious in the eyes of zealous churchmen, and the cardinals were universally recognized as moving in the front rank of the great ones of the earth. In a most able manner the Pope took advantage of the existing feuds among monarchs and princes to insist that he was master of the universe; and emperors as well as kings acknowledged his superiority.

In an impartial estimate of this pontificate, the historian ought not to shut his eyes to the fact that, however greatly it may have tended to the glory of the Church of Rome, it was an excessive development of authority, the maintenance of which must always be attended with difficulty and sometimes with danger. It fostered an aggressive spirit, that sooner or later was sure to excite opposition. The success which had attended the English pope's dealings with popular opinion in the case of Arnold, and with imperial antagonism in the case of Barbarossa, could not always be counted upon. The multiplicity in Europe of forms of religious dissent was a warning that ought not to have been neglected; equally suggestive of the necessity of caution was the contemporary expansion of the human intellect, and its visible action upon public opinion. It declared that all mediæval institutions would soon be on their trial.

Early in the year 1215 the English confederate nobles assembled their forces at Stamford, in the north. The cardinal archbishop, then at the head of two thousand knights, was sent for by King John, who was alarmed at the hostile power he had raised. The former was persuaded to become a mediator, associated with the earl of Pembroke and other prudent men. The barons sent their intractable sovereign a series of articles complaining of injustice and requiring redress. These, on his return, the primate read to him, one by one. John was again in a perverse spirit, and declared that he would make no concession. The messengers came back to their camp, and the barons learning the result of their negotiation, at once appointed Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general, with the title of "Marshal of the Army of God and the Holy Church."

One spirit pervaded the host—a determination to overthrow the tyrant if he could not be made to respect the laws and charters granted by his predecessors. They marched to Northampton, and laid siege to the castle; but having no military engines, they in a few days departed for Bedford, then went on to London, where they were joined by the principal barons who had remained with the king.

Finding himself almost completely deserted, and a complete stop put to all government or proceedings in his name, King John once again was obliged to have recourse to the services of the man he hated. The archbishop was fully cognizant of the proceedings of the confederates, had assisted in their deliberations,—in truth, was the guiding spirit

of the revolt. His object was to coerce the despot into good government; and as the latter was now helpless, he facilitated to the utmost the wish expressed by the king to fulfil every obligation required of him. Associated with the earl of Pembroke and other commissioners, he presently arranged a meeting between King John and the chiefs of the confederacy. It took place on the 15th of June, 1215, a day ever worthy of remembrance in English history.

Early in the morning of a glorious English summer, nobles and knights on their chargers (*destriers*), distinguished by their pennons and splendid super-tunics sometimes worn over their suits of chain armour, with here and there the cross denoting the brothers in arms of the heroic Richard, might have been noticed by the country people, coming in groups along the roads, as they were then considered, that lay between Staines and Windsor. Egham was presently filled with the flower of English chivalry. Amongst them, with Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Saxons of the best blood, were numberless noble specimens of a fusion of the two races, their steeds gaily caparisoned, their cognizances conspicuous, each at the head of his following of horse and foot.

Adam, abbot of Chertsey, and his monks, beheld many pass the abbey gates on their way to the rendezvous, and doubtless wished them God speed.* Adam was a spiritual peer and military tenant

* The king seized two of their manors for the payment of a fine of five hundred marks, because of a homicide committed by one of the abbot's domestics.

of the king. In another direction, the Augustine brotherhood of Newark Priory, their house only lately endowed, had a like opportunity of witnessing the martial display. They were well informed of the great work in which their primate was engaged, and were equally ready with their benedictions. On the silvery river flowing brightly in the summer sunshine, the men of the neighbouring fishery stood in their boats, wondering at the cause of the unwonted spectacle.

In martial panoply came De Vesci, De Percy, De Roos, De Bruis, De Stuteville, De Mowbray, De Cresie, De Vere, De Montacute, and scores of other names equally known to fame;—came Fitz-Walter, Fitz-Robert, Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Waring, Fitz-Herbert, Fitz-Alan, Fitz-John, and a multitude with the like distinguishing prefix;—came the earls of Albemarle, Winchester, Clare, Chester, Cornwall (Roger Bigod), Salisbury, Essex, and numerous lay peers of equal distinction;—there came also the Pope's legate, Pandulph, and Almeric, Master of the Knights Templars;—there came the prelates of Dublin, London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath, Worcester, Coventry, and Rochester, all making the grandest or most warlike display Egham and its quiet neighbourhood had ever seen.

Lastly, there came the two prominent actors in the national drama then about to be enacted,—John, king of England, conspicuous in the brilliant array by his magnificent dalmatica; Pandulph, the papal envoy, his legatine authority displayed with almost pontifical state; with Stephen Langton, in his robe, hat, and insignia, distinguishable as

primate of the Anglican and prince of the Roman Church; and in a pleasant meadow on the banks of the silvery Thames, near Egham, bearing the since household name RUNNYMEDE, they presently assembled.

After a short conference, a parchment roll, clerkly engrossed in Latin, was read over and explained to the king by the cardinal archbishop, by whom it had doubtless been prepared. This document had been carefully drawn up, and was intended to put an effectual check on monarchical encroachments. It was, and has ever since been styled, MAGNA CHARTA.*

The charter having been submitted to the sovereign, was signed by him, as well as by the archbishop and barons present. Then another parchment was unrolled, and another Latin memorial of rights and privileges read and explained. This is known as the *Charta de Foresta*, a safeguard against royal tyranny equally needed. When made acquainted with the provisions of the second document, this King John also signed,—the papal legate looking on, unable or afraid to attempt any protest on behalf of the Pontiff.

The restraint the king put upon himself whilst giving his consent to these proceedings, may be imagined from the rage he exhibited as soon as his triumphant subjects had departed. He is said by Matthew Paris to have cursed the day he was born, rolled his eyes, ground his teeth, and gnawed sticks

* It has been frequently printed entire, and more than once engraved in fac-simile. See Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1215, and Rymer, "Fœdera," tom. i.

and straws.* He blamed the mother who had nursed him, and wished that he had been killed in his youth. In short he was in a royal passion. He vowed revenge against each and all who had been concerned in his humiliation, and as a means of securing it, sent the legate to Rome, well loaded with presents, to assure his friend the Pontiff that he intended joining the Crusaders.

The primate had scarcely had time to exchange congratulations with his friends on the perfect success that had crowned their patriotic movement, when he learnt that King John, notwithstanding his oaths and signatures, had been incessantly engaged in recruiting from every accessible part of the continent an army of freebooters, while he had despatched to his powerful supporter at Rome a moving appeal for assistance. He saw that the work would have to be done over again, with the conviction, too, that no confidence could be placed on any promise that might be exacted from the king. He had also cause to entertain serious misgivings as to the policy of the Holy See.

A council had been summoned to meet at Rome in this year; and while preparations were making for the archbishop of Canterbury's departure from England to join it, there arrived commissioners from the Pope, bringing bulls annulling the charters the king of England had granted his subjects. The primate was commanded to have them read every Sunday and feast-day throughout the year. The churchman had by this time become so completely a patriot that he promptly refused to permit such a publication

* "Historia Major."

of the papal bulls. Then the commissioners pronounced him contumacious, and suspended him from his archiepiscopal functions.

Innocent III. sent letters scolding the prelates and the barons for offending so good a monarch, who had taken upon himself the cross of an adventurer in the Holy Land, and cited them to appear before his council at Rome to answer for their misdeeds. Presently came other letters from the Pontiff announcing their excommunication; but, as Roger of Wendover states, as no one of the confederates had been mentioned by name, no notice was taken of the sentence.

Cardinal Langton proceeded to Rome, doubtful of the reception he should meet from his former patron. Innocent carried on the pontifical government with a very high hand indeed; he was trying to crush the Albigenses, and was ready to punish with severity even the slightest offence against the Church. The cardinal's brother Simon had lately been elected to the archbishopric of York; the king had opposed the election, and as this pretended crusader was in extraordinary favour with the Pope, the primate must have anticipated meeting as little justice in one case as in the other. So it happened. The Holy Father proved implacable, he declared the suspension of the elder, and annulled the election of the younger brother.

The cardinal submitted, and remained at Rome a state prisoner, devoting himself to studious occupations. While so occupied, King John continued his bad rule, committing all sorts of enormities—of course never attempting to fulfil his promise of

becoming a crusader. In the autumn of 1216 he died, but not till two years later did the archbishop return to his see. The death of Pope Innocent had occurred the previous year.

Prince Louis, in May of the year 1216, landed at Sandwich, and proceeded to London, where he received a cordial welcome, and having sworn to respect the laws of the country, was acknowledged king. One of his first acts was to appoint Simon Langton his chancellor. He was, however, shortly afterwards followed by the new papal legate, who excommunicated the French prince and his English supporters.

The cardinal legate Gualo exercised in the Pope's name sovereign sway over England, which, in fact, was treated as a dependency of the see of Rome. The party in favour of Prince Louis were drawn away, and Philip Augustus made to oppose the designs of his son. Honorius had resolved that England should not be French, only the more completely to secure the island being Roman. But there was a national spirit still left in the land, that was biding its time for a successful demonstration. It permitted the papal to destroy the French influence, and reap a harvest of forfeiture among those who had supported it; it endured the tax of Peter's Pence, the annual tribute of a thousand marks, and the lavish disposal of English benefices for the Pope's relations or dependents, assured that the hour and the man were approaching that should help them to their emancipation from this tyranny.

We have seen the Anglican Church generally a satellite, content to borrow light from, while mo-

destly radiating in, the system of the Roman luminary; but the time had arrived for its exerting a planetary influence of its own. The sphere had become so troubled by the fitfulness of its borrowed radiance—the action of which more resembled the eccentric influence of a comet than natural solar effulgency — that the atmosphere betrayed those signs of disturbance which indicate the advent of some great cataclasm. This exhibited political rather than physical phenomena. An important change was being effected in the moral government of the country, during which the religious government developed a successful approach towards independence.

It could easily be shown that it was a reaction of patriotic feeling, caused by the intolerable oppression of the court of Rome,—a reawakening of public spirit to a sense of degradation and a purpose of enfranchisement. It ought never to be forgotten by Englishmen, that such reaction and such reawakening were the work of the Anglican Church through the sagacious and spirited interposition of its now popular primate, Stephen Langton. Though it is impossible to forget the obligations the country owed in this crisis to the principal barons, these laymen were so constantly directed and supported by their zealous coadjutor, that to him, in the first place, must be attributed the merit due to the mover of this memorable revolution.

The barons have generally been considered censurable for their apparently unpatriotic intention of causing England to become a French province; but while regarding their invitation to the son of the king of France, several extenuating circumstances of

unusual force ought to be considered. Though a century and a half had passed since the Conquest, there was still a large Norman element in the English nobility and knighthood; and the extent to which the kingdom was overrun by foreign mercenaries under papal and royal patronage, justified the appeal for continental help to a nearer and more reliable source. Moreover, Prince Louis was the near kinsman of the king of England, and therefore possessed claims to the succession. His having the command of a large body of troops might also have been a recommendation.

The course of action of the patriotic churchman who guided the movement leaves no doubt that the coercion of his worthless sovereign was his chief object, and that, this realized, the king of France would have had no better chance of dominating the State than the Pope of Rome had of oppressing the Church. The seasonable death of John put an end to all speculations on the subject, and the reign of Henry III. commenced with the evils his predecessors had created, in full activity. Aliens were in nearly all the strong and in many of the high places, and a papal legate ruled paramount. Over the minority of their child king the cardinal archbishop kept guard with a thorough English spirit against foreign interference; and associated with him were the veteran Marshal, earl of Pembroke, and the brave yet prudent Hubert de Burgh.

Pope Honorius regarded with profound interest the state of England. The legate Gualo, in his name, had been carrying on a system of plunder and persecution that made the Papacy odious throughout

the land. He was superseded by the more experienced Pandulph. The regent died in May, 1219, when Des Roches, bishop of Winchester, became chancellor and subsequently justiciary, and held the post of instructor to the youthful king. Pandulph soon contrived to grasp the reins of power, transmitting his commands to the great officers of state as though they had been his vassals.

A letter had been written in the name of the sovereign to the Pope, excusing a delay in the payment of the annual tribute of a thousand marks, and averring an improvement in the condition of the country; to this the Pontiff replied.* Honorius wrote to Pandulph, November 4th, 1218, in which year he had been reappointed, directing him to examine the convention between the late king of England and the king of Scotland (William), and giving him permission to confirm it or not, at his discretion. The legate was also bishop-elect of Norwich. In the following year two of his mandates, addressed to the bishop of Winchester and the justiciary Hubert de Burgh, to claim redress for his servant, and to delay proceedings against Isaac of Norwich, show how high-handed he intended to exercise his mission.† In January, 1220, he addresses the king to introduce the abbot of Fountains as bishop-designate of Ely.

His subsequent communications were terse and mandatory. He remained in the west, avoiding the metropolis, not liking the expense of the journey;

* "Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III.," edited by the Rev. Walter Wallington Shirley, i. 6—Rolls Publications.

† Rymeri "Fœdera," i. 149.

but in April he announced his intention of coming to Windsor. Honorius directs him, on the 20th of May, not to permit any one to hold more than two royal castles. His legatine authority was brought to a sudden conclusion in the following year.*

In the month of May Cardinal Langton again landed at Dover, the clergy and laity rivalling each other in testifying their gratification at his return. There was much in his own neglected diocese, as well as in the Anglican Church, that demanded his correcting judgment; but there was a youthful sovereign and a disordered kingdom, still more urgently calling for his wise interposition. His first care was the great charter, and he in Michaelmas of the same year convened an assembly in London to legislate respecting it. The royal consent was given to this document; the primate's seal affixed to it, and by general consent it was accepted as the law of the land. The primate then addressed himself to remedying the many grave evils that existed in his diocese, and to the performance of his archiepiscopal duties, till the 17th of May, 1220, when he crowned King Henry III. in Westminster Abbey, a former coronation having been considered informal.

It was on the 7th of July, 1220, that the cardinal archbishop connected his name with another great event, one that long remained prominent in ecclesiastical annals. This was the translation of the remains of his illustrious predecessor, Thomas Becket. His corpse had been consigned for half

* Shirley's "Royal and other Historical Letters," i. 16, 34, 35, 167—Rolls Publications.

a century to the cathedral crypt; but a chapel of great architectural beauty, containing a shrine, that in magnificence was intended to rival everything of the kind which had hitherto been seen in the country, was prepared to receive the martyr, and good Catholics from all parts of Christendom were invited to assemble at Canterbury to witness the ceremony. The invitation was responded to, and on the day named, the narrow thoroughfares of the old city were choked, the quaint timber houses overflowed with guests, while house-tops, windows, and doorways were crammed with spectators. From all the religious houses flocked priests of many orders and degrees, foreign and English; prelates and nobles joined in the throng; the archbishop of Rheims and Pandulph, the late legate, soon to be bishop of Norwich, conspicuous amongst them. Moreover there was the king with the justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, and his principal nobility, present, some of whom thought it an honour to bear on their shoulders an iron chest containing the bones of the English saint, amid a crowd of banners and crosses, and the most gorgeous array of ecclesiastical paraphernalia. The grand procession filed through the cathedral with every accessory, that could make the scene impressive, till the new chapel was entered, where, behind the altar, stood a shrine of gold and silver, gorgeously decorated with precious stones, which received these honoured memorials.

It was a great demonstration for all engaged in it—a very great day for the chapter and monks of Canterbury, a day of special glorification for their munificent archbishop, who had been forced to beg

and borrow to a prodigious extent, to meet the enormous cost of the pageant. It was long remembered in England and France; and that it should not be forgotten, the primate, on the first anniversary, preached a commemoration sermon in the cathedral. It was not forgotten, nor were his exertions to render it memorable, for all the monkish chroniclers have recorded the event with marked commendation of his name.

Cardinal Langton continued to labour diligently in his vocation. He was particularly active in endeavouring to bring his clergy to respect the claims of the poor, and to correct the abuses in religious establishments which the evil rule of King John had fostered. On the 11th of June, 1222, he presided at a council that met at Osney, near Oxford, to consider what remedies would be effectual for repressing the most grievous of social crimes among the laity, and for the correction of excesses among the clergy. Robbers of all descriptions, and their patrons, were to be denounced, and directions were given for insisting on decent manners and decent apparel among all who professed a holy life; the concubines of priests were not to receive church burial, neither were they to partake of the Communion, nor, if they brought forth illegitimate children, were they to be purified; while their clerical paramours were to be suspended, and subjected to a sharp penance previously to absolution.

These provisions display a frightful amount of social disorganization. Freebooters and rogues of all kinds appear to have flourished with the con-

nivance of persons in authority; and the state in which a large number of beneficed clergymen lived, had become a monstrous scandal. The cardinal archbishop employed all his influence to remove these abuses, and in one or two instances severely punished offenders. A general reformation was needed; nearly all Europe suffering more or less under the same evils.

There are two remarkable instances of severity recorded by Copgrave, as having occurred at Osney under the primate's authority. One was in the person of a priest in deacon's orders, who being in love with a beautiful Jewess, allowed himself to be circumcised, denied his Saviour, and became a Jew—a romantic incident that has been well used in fiction. The other was a layman, who caused himself to be nailed to a cross, and then declared that this was done for the salvation of mankind. The apostate Christian was burnt at the stake; the sham Christ imprisoned for life.

As a further measure of reform, the archbishop encouraged the settlement in England of friars of a severe rule—Franciscans, or Minorites—principally for the edification of the lower classes of the people. He hoped their example would correct the evils of indulgence which the monasteries were prodigally displaying. But these mendicants, though they contrived to make themselves popular, did not reform the richer brotherhoods.

The experience, the judgment and wisdom of the primate must have pointed him out as, above all men, the best fitted to be the chief counsellor of his youthful sovereign; but he does not appear from

this time to have played a very prominent part in public affairs. His great anxiety was the security of the safeguard to English liberty he had created. He wished in 1223 the young king in council to confirm his acceptance of the Charter. One of the members present ventured to affirm that its concessions had been extorted by force. The archbishop abjured him, if he loved the king, not to disturb the minds of his people by counselling opposition on a matter of such vital interest. Then Henry III. spiritedly said that he felt bound to adhere to what he had already sworn.

On another occasion, a few years later, Cardinal Langton made a stand against an attempt on the part of the Pope to "squeeze" the Anglican Church. He was supported by King Henry and the peers, spiritual and temporal. He did not approve of the legate; but the latter had sufficient influence to procure a bull from Honorius, stating that as Pandulph was only bishop of Norwich elect, he owed no obedience to the primate. After the Cardinal had concluded the grand ecclesiastical pageant at Canterbury, he started for Rome,—a hazardous mission, when his opposition to papal supremacy is remembered; but he knew how to smooth little difficulties at the Roman court, and did this with such success that he returned with an important concession from the Pope, that no papal legate should henceforth be resident in England. This tied the hands of Pandulph; at least it assured him that his mission was drawing to a close, and indignantly he hastened his departure.

In April, 1221, Honorius writes, directing the archbishop of York and his suffragans to use their

best exertions to repress the warfare in England.* In October, 1223, he addressed a more important communication to the entire Anglican hierarchy, stating that the wrongs complained of by the Templars must be redressed. About the same time he directed the archbishop to place an interdict on the lands of Llewellyn, prince of Wales. On the 14th of January, he wrote to the king, expressing his concern at the treatment of the bishop of Winchester. The king stated, in reply, that the bishop's case had been misrepresented.†

After Pope Innocent III. had annulled the election of Simon de Langton to the archbishopric of York, the latter entered the service of the king of France, and became his chancellor. On the accession of Henry III. to the English throne, and the return of the cardinal archbishop, he sought and obtained a permission in 1223 to return also. He was then appointed archdeacon of Canterbury, and relieved his brother of a considerable amount of administrative labour. After this the primate lived generally in one of his manors in Sussex, where he built a residence, in which he passed much of the remainder of his honourable life. This was at Slindon, about seven miles from Chichester. From this retirement he was called to settle disputes between different orders of the clergy, as well as quarrels between the king and some of his turbulent nobles. In one instance he and his suffragans in white robes at Northampton, in 1224, excommunicated the offenders, the earl of Chester and his adherents. It is impos-

* "Royal and other Historical Letters," i. 174.

† Ibid., 211—213, 218—224.

sible to overrate the importance of the cardinal's conduct when he made his noble stand against the foreign coadjutor of De Burgh in the government—Bishop Des Roches—and the Roman party. Having cleverly contrived to obtain a bull from Honorius, declaring the young king of age, and directing the surrender of the royal castles in the hands of their leaders, the earl of Chester chose to raise a rebellion with their help. The latter made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the seat of government, then marched with all their force to Leicester, where they kept their Christmas with prodigious display of enjoyment. The national party in greater strength proceeded to Northampton with their youthful sovereign, and celebrated their Christmas with festivities that threw those of the Leicester revellers into the shade.*

The closing ceremonial of the festive display struck terror into the hearts of the malcontents. The cardinal archbishop, assisted by his prelates, with no less ecclesiastical solemnity than pomp, excommunicated all who were in armed opposition to the government. The effect this produced was soon evident. The cheerful carol ceased in Leicester, and the sumptuous feast was at an end. One by one the conspirators left the confederacy, hastening to purchase their own safety by a surrender of the castles they had defiantly retained. The policy of the cardinal was triumphant, and the authority of De Burgh unquestioned.

Another spirited effort to maintain a national character for the government was the cardinal's

* "Chron. Duns.," 136-8.

opposition to the greatest of the aliens, De Breauté, who since his first employment as a military adventurer under King John, had contrived to monopolize castles, dignities, power, and wealth to a formidable extent. His influence in England extended over seven counties, of which he was sheriff; over the domains of several of the royal castles, of which he was governor; he was moreover a baron of the Exchequer, as well as a baron of the realm; he had contrived also to secure a commanding influence in the court of Rome, and, thus supported, held out in defiance of the government and the cardinal. De Burgh besieged his stronghold, and, despite of his patron the Pope, forced him into submission and exile.

The agency flourishing at the papal court in the first quarter of the thirteenth century is amusingly illustrated by the correspondence of the proctors engaged to look after English interests there. They describe a singular state of confusion among Pope and cardinals. Egidius, the Pope's chaplain, privately sent an assurance to the king by messengers who were to be trusted; and the king, in 1224, sends his agents full instructions. In a subsequent letter (Feb., 1225) they inform him that the Cardinal Romano betrays an influence in favour of French interests. In August of the same year they announce the arrival of the king's ambassadors, with a variety of valuable property, probably intended for presents. In another communication of the same month, written when returning home, they describe their interview with the papal legate, Romano, at St. Omer, and then give notice of a change in his arrangements. The

cardinal legate himself writes in March, 1226, to the king and the justiciary, expressing a desire for peace.*

In August, 1224, Honorius III. wrote to the cardinal archbishop, directing him to prevent the attack which the king was about to make on Fulcke De Breauté, and recall his excommunications against him. It is clear, therefore, that this adventurer—one of the aliens who proved a social curse to England—had thus early contrived to obtain the Pontiff's protection. About the same date the Pope wrote to the king, disapproving of his proceedings against Fulcke. A still greater stretch of authority was his writing in April, 1228, to the king of England, forbidding him to assist Raymond of Toulouse in making war against the king of France. In July, 1226, he directed the archbishop to see that his letters to Henry in favour of Fulcke's wife were carried into effect.†

In the next year the royal necessities requiring assistance, a fifteenth of all property belonging to clergy and laity was asked for. Archbishop Langton improved the occasion, and, backed by his suffragans and all the Parliament assembled, insisted that the two great charters already mentioned should be ratified in the most solemn and binding manner before such aid were granted. The king, therefore, had them again drawn up, passed under his seal, and a copy sent to all the counties, with the royal command that their provisions should be strictly observed.‡ Nevertheless, in the year 1227 he called a council at Oxford, and publicly annulled the

* "Royal and Historical Letters," vol. i.

† Id. ib., Appendix V. ‡ Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1225.

charters, as having been granted when he was under age. It appears to have been a ruse to get money; for, on the payment of certain sums by clergy and laity, they were renewed in proper form.

In the year 1228 the cardinal archbishop received the commands of Pope Gregory to excommunicate the Emperor, with whom the Pontiff was at feud; but he was then suffering from a mortal illness at his manor-house at Slindon, where he died on the 9th of July. He was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury, in the chapel of St. Michael, where a monument was erected to his memory. His great memorial, however, is unquestionably MAGNA CHARTA, which will endure to keep his name in remembrance among Englishmen, when his scarcophagus shall have crumbled to dust.

In Stephen Langton we meet with a noble example of the Anglican churchman; he understood his position as the primate of the English Church, and by his patriotic exertions, amid tremendous difficulties, established a precedent of incalculable value when the nationality of that noble institution was at stake. It is quite true that a whisper of doctrinal dissent from him was never heard; nevertheless, it is more than probable that the triumphant result of his struggle with the social and political oppression of papal government encouraged in another generation the stand made by English intelligence against its mental tyranny. If we look carefully to the progress of opinion in this country, we can scarcely fail of doing justice to the memory of this illustrious ecclesiastic as one of the first and best of our religious reformers.

Well aware of the excessive expansion of the papal system beyond the scheme of policy carried out successfully by his countryman while at the head of the Church of Rome, and having acquired a practical knowledge of the mischievous effects of such exaggeration in England, he resolutely made a stand against the intolerable despotism it created, opposing the autocrat Pope as boldly as he contended with his royal vassal. He established the liberties of his country on a solid foundation by his exertions to secure King Henry's, as well as King John's, acknowledgment of the two important charters accepted at Runnymede; and with the same well-directed energy raised the prostrate Anglican Church to a position more worthy of a great national institution. Moreover he endeavoured by his moderation to correct the evil influence of Becket's intense Romanism.

Among the distinguished clerical compatriots and contemporaries of the excellent primate was Robert Curzon, who, like most of the ornaments of the Anglican Church of that and succeeding ages, received his education at Oxford,* whence, with a Doctor of Divinity degree, he proceeded to Paris in the usual course. Here he attained to such honour in the university as to gain the favour of the king of France. It has been stated that he not only obtained several honourable appointments in Paris, but was held in such esteem by the French king for his rare qualifications, that he warmly re-

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch), i. 181. He places him under the year 1205. Cardella, "Memorie Storiche, &c.," makes him a student at Oxford in 1180.

commended him to the Pope. In the same creation that included Stephen Langton, Innocent III. promoted him to the Sacred College as Cardinal Priest of St. Stephen on Mount Cælius, anno Domini 1212.

The active development of the papal power, then directed by this enterprising Pontiff, required skilful agents devoted to the interests of the Holy See. Cardinal Curzon's ability was as obvious to the clear-sighted head of the Church as his fidelity, and employment was soon found for him. Although the archbishop of Canterbury was placed in the position of legate, as certain of his predecessors had been, to secure the subserviency of the Anglican priesthood, his proceedings, after he had obtained investiture, did not satisfy the papal court. Innocent III. had determined on a policy that should place all the European powers at his feet; and John, king of England, was made the first example of the extravagance of its pretensions. The spirit with which these were combated by the English clergy aristocracy, and people, rendered another mission to England necessary in the succeeding reign.

The papal annalists send Curzon as legate to England, in the year in which he was created cardinal; * but from that period to the time of his death, Gualo, and subsequently Pandulph, held this post. Innocent III. died in 1216. By Honorius III. he was appointed *Legate à latere* in France,†

* Ciaconius, i. 650.

† Cardella. Of the two legates, the Chronicle of Mailros says,—"Missa sunt à latere domini Papæ multa et magna luminaria. Doctores scilicet sanctissimæ conversationis et excellentissimæ doctrinæ in omnem circa regionem; quorum duo missi sunt, unus in Angliam

to excite the Church and chivalry of that country to a crusade against the Albigenses; for the policy of papal expansion was soon to be supplemented by a policy of heretical extermination. The success he met with does not seem to have been very great. Happily the cardinal was not responsible for the atrocities that were subsequently committed.

The English cardinal was shortly afterwards employed to advance another crusade. This was against the infidels in the Holy Land, which Honorius and the Roman court pressed with vigour. The great powers of Christendom were appealed to; but the king of Hungary, and some German princes and prelates, were all who answered the call; and to the force they contrived to raise, Cardinal Curzon was attached as pontifical legate. In the year 1218 they laid siege to and captured Damietta; but here the cardinal legate's career concluded: he died in the suburbs, and the campaign was nearly coming to an end soon afterwards; for Cardinal Pelagius was elected commander-in-chief of the expedition, which met with severe reverses through

et reliquus in Franciam. In Angliam Magister Stephanus de Langetun, archiepiscopus Cantuariæ consecratus: in Gallias Magister Robertus de Curzun sedis apostolicæ presbyter et cardinalis, et totius Franciæ legatus et arbiter constitutus, ut sanctæ conversationis exemplo et Catholicæ prædicationis ministerio utramque regionem illustrarent. Item omnes Christianos publicos usurarios, et publicas meretrices, et ceteros sanctæ religionis derisores, ad admonitionem prædicti Magistri Roberti abstulit Rex Francia à civitatibus suis universis."—(T. Gale, "Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum," i. 185.) According to the Chronicle of Mailros, at the council at Paris, held in 1210, Robert Curzon distinguished himself greatly by his prosecution of those heretics known as Almericans. His death is recorded in the year 1220.

his inexperience as a general. Cardinal Curzon made some contributions to the theological and scholastic literature of his age, which have been favourably noticed by Alonzo Chacon and other biographers.*

* "Robertus Curson, Anglus, theologiæ scriptor memoratissimus, Oxonii literis incubuit, amplioraque deinde meditatus, Lutetiam atque Romam ipsam petiit, illic theologus doctor, hic verò cardinalis effectus scripsit—'Summum Theologiæ,' 'De Salvatione Origenis,' 'Lecturas Sollemnes,' et alia non pauca. Claruit anno 1212."—(Ciaconius, 650.) "Robertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex conjecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonii academia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus usus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, et assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparavit. Ampliora deinde meditatus, Parisiorum Lutetiam atque Romam ipsam petiit; illic theologus doctor, hic vero cardinalis effectus."—Bale, "Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ Catalogus," Basil, 1557-9.

CHAPTER II.

ROBERT SOMERCOTE, CARDINAL DEACON.

His Preparation for the Priesthood—the Church—Giraldus Cambrensis at Rome—Martial Prelates—Masses—Crusades—Church Abuses—Benefit of Clergy—University Riots—Monastic Art and Literature—Somercote takes Holy Orders—Conflict of Pope Gregory and the Emperor Frederick—Religious Dissent—Disputes—Papal Extortion—Disturbances at Cambridge and Oxford—Aliens—Somercote the King's Chaplain—Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor—Somercote created a Cardinal—his Fidelity to the Pope—Papal Exactions in England—Death of Pope Gregory—Desire in the Conclave to elect Somercote—he is poisoned.

OF Robert Somercote, notwithstanding the high position he attained in the Church, and the confidential duties he performed when its excessive pretensions were undergoing a hostile scrutiny, historical traces are few and wide apart. He was educated in England in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, following the usual course of study, as a preparation for the priesthood, the profession that continued to hold out the most powerful inducement to students. The Church of Rome had entered upon a far more ambitious policy than that which Adrian IV. had bequeathed to his successors, and was going through a dangerous crisis, in the desperate quarrel, then at its height, between the Pope and Frederick II. It was also undergoing

a trial of public opinion, as was evinced by the spread of religious bodies professing a faith distinct from that taught by her priests, as well as by the denunciations of orthodox Catholics, anxious for a reform of its abuses.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the cardinals learnt that an English ecclesiastic famed for his scholarship and eloquence had come to Rome, to press a suit in which he was deeply interested. This was Giraldus Cambrensis, whose reputation as a preacher of the crusades, as an author, and as a divine, had already made a favourable impression among the pontifical officials. He had been elected by the chapter to the bishopric of St. David's, in 1199; but the archbishop of Canterbury had refused consecration; and King John supported the objections of the primate. The chapter, knowing that the objection was merely a prejudice, because he was a Welshman, elected him a second time. He then sought the interposition of Rome.

The Pope received his visitor with marks of consideration, and permitted him to return to England and exercise the administration of the see till the dispute should be settled. Giraldus Cambrensis paid three visits to Rome, in each of which he had no reason to complain of the reception given him by the papal court; but the prejudice which had proved so injurious to him in England, made him so popular in Wales, that the entire principality threatened revolt. This exasperated the king and the archbishop, whose complaints at last compelled the Pontiff to annul his election. He

survived this injustice upwards of twenty years, devoting himself to literary pursuits; but during his visits he had been able to see the mode of living of the Princes of the Church, and was unsparing in his censures of their pride and luxury; he was equally severe upon the monks, especially the Cistercians.*

As we have already intimated, the higher officers of the Church not unfrequently commanded military detachments. As warriors, the English prelates were in no respect inferior to their right reverend brethren on the continent. Indeed, Roger of Wendover states that a bishop of Winchester was sent for to Rome to direct the military proceedings. Pope Gregory was then organizing a force to act against his subjects. The bishop had learned experience in war under Richard I., and could arrange an army in order of battle before he was able to preach. Matthew Paris relates that the chapter of Beauvais indited a most pitiful appeal to the Pope, respecting the capture of their bishop by the king of England. The Pontiff wrote Richard I. a remonstrance, claiming his dear son. The king respectfully forwarded the suit of mail worn by the prelate when he was captured, asking if that was the coat of his dear son. The Pope promptly replied that the wearer must be a son of Mars, not of Christ, and left him to his fate.

Wager of battle was not denied to prelates, women, maimed persons, nor to men who were sixty years old: they might appear by their champions. Somewhat later, in the reign of Edward III., the

* Preface to his works edited by Mr. Brewer—Rolls Publications. "Speculum Ecclesiæ," lib. iv. MS. Cotton., Tiber. B. xiii.

bishop of the diocese brought an action against the earl of Salisbury, for possession of the castle. The fight was permitted; but on previous examination by the appointed judges, the prelate's champion was discovered to be wearing concealed prayers and charms; it was therefore deferred. This gave the disputants time to effect a compromise; the bishop paying a thousand marks to the earl, who allowed judgment in the case to go by default.*

One of the great abuses practised by the priesthood, but disapproved of by intelligent and honest-minded Catholics, was the sale of masses for the salvation of the dead or dying. This was denounced by Abelard, and condemned by the council of Paris (1212), but has never been abolished. Sinners were frightened into surrendering dishonest gains, and sometimes honourable accumulations, to the Church, as the only means of escaping everlasting torture, and the wealthy pious were induced to make extravagant donations to rescue their relatives from purgatory. Even large annual incomes were bequeathed or bestowed for masses to be performed till the imperilled soul was safe in Paradise. It was alleged that the damned testified their appreciation of the efficacy of this rite by the most lively demonstrations immediately it commenced.

Rome was constantly in the possession of a German army; nevertheless the Emperor invariably received investiture on conditions that recognized the Pope's supremacy. The Pontiff in 1211 secured the elec-

* Horwood, "Year book of the Reign of Edward I.," years xxii. xxiii., Preface.—Rolls Publications. There are several cases of ecclesiastics wagering battle cited here.

tion of the youthful Frederick of Palermo to the empire, because he had thus humbled himself. As a promoter of crusades, few of his predecessors had been so successful, and the cardinals were constantly employed in exciting the military ardour as well as the religious zeal of the representatives of the royal and noble families of Europe. When an immense army had been organized for this purpose, and the Doge Dandolo had induced its leaders to change their project for an attack on the Greek empire, the rage of the Pope displayed itself in a general excommunication. The passion for crusading excited in Germany and France spread to children, and armies of boys left their homes, never to return. Some found honourable asylums in Italy, but the majority were either sold as slaves to the Turks, or were shipwrecked and drowned.

The crusades against the infidel having generally proved disastrous, one had been preached against heretics in 1209; and as these were nearer at hand, and far less formidable than the Saracens, plenty of volunteers presented themselves to share the honour and the plunder expected from the enterprise. Among their leaders was the Cardinal Conrad von Urich, one of those German ecclesiastical commanders who distinguished themselves by the ferocity of their zeal for the Church.

Innocent III. was not unmindful of the abuses that existed among churchmen, and convoked a general council at Rome in 1215 to remedy them. There cardinals and prelates inveighed against the immorality of the inferior clergy, who might with equal truth have retorted on their superiors. The priests

of Liége were conspicuous for their licentiousness; but, only a little less openly, similar profligacy existed almost everywhere. It was in vain that pure and earnest-minded Catholics denounced these abuses,—a reformation was required at Rome in the first place. If the divine command had been made to the council, "Let him who is without sin fling the first stone," the punishers must have been so few, that the offenders need not have feared delapidation. Little was done except in establishing the mendicant orders known as the Minorites and Dominicans, and the institution known and dreaded as "the Inquisition."

Innocent continued to favour the emperor Frederick, and his court maintained its splendour and its power. His death occurred in 1216, but his policy survived during the pontificate of his successor, Honorius III., by whom the cardinals were quite as much occupied in organizing crusades and leagues, as a means of securing or expanding the institution at Rome.

The influence of the priesthood in England is thus illustrated:—"A certain clerk," says Anthony Wood, "as he was recreating himself, killed by chance a woman,"—rather an ambiguous way of describing so serious an accident.

"But the mayor and townsmen of Oxford, where it occurred, made search for the culprit, who had fled and concealed himself"—an unwise proceeding if he had not been to blame,—"and having seized him and one or two of his associates, who were considered his accomplices, sent word to King John,

then staying at Woodstock, who ordered them to be hanged forthwith."*

This contempt of benefit of clergy so displeased the clerical scholars, that they are said to have quitted the university to the number of 3,000. The Pope was induced to place the town under an interdict, which was only taken off when, at the instigation of the papal legate, the authorities had performed a most humiliating penance, and entered into arrangements beneficial to poor clerks.

The place was again put under interdict shortly afterwards (1228) for a gown and town row; when the laymen were again punished. Next year a like disturbance occurred at Paris, and the students, dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of the authorities, accepted the invitation of Henry III., and crossed the Channel to the number of one thousand. Riots at Oxford were of frequent occurrence, as testified by the following verse:—

"Chronica si penses,
Cum pugnant Oxonienses,
Post paucos menses,
Volat via per Angligenenses."

In Paris the disturbances were as formidable as those that took place at Oxford. According to Roger Hovedon, there was a tremendous uproar in the former university, caused by the servant of an unpopular German dignitary getting maltreated, and his vessel broken, when sent to a tavern for wine. The German scholars turned out at the insult, and nearly killed the tavern-keeper. Then the authorities mustered their strength, and at-

* "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 183.

tacked the hall in which the Germans lodged: many were killed, including the ecclesiastic whose servant had been beaten.*

In the reign of Henry III., his quarrels with his more powerful subjects, as well as wars at home and abroad, would have prevented any development of intelligence in the country either in art or literature, had it not been for the peaceful but earnest students in the principal religious houses. Within those quiet retreats the manufacture of MSS. proceeded uninterrupted by the din that frequently raged without; the scribe being still constantly employed copying the most approved works of classic and mediæval authors. To these industrious monks do we owe not only what remains to us of artistic design at this epoch, displayed in the decorations of their MSS., but nearly all that we possess of the history of the time.

Art was not inactive in France at the same period, though it had a purely decorative character. It was pressed into the service of the Apostolic Church for every purpose to which it could be applied; and the wealthier ecclesiastics employed it largely, not only in religious objects, but for personal and domestic luxury. Glass-painting and enamelling flourished at Arles and Limoges, and fictile manufactures in other districts equally celebrated in mediæval history. Goldsmiths' work, too, was much employed on ecclesiastical furniture, not merely in the production of reliquaries and shrines, but occasionally in mitres, crosses, crosiers, and similar ornaments. Embroidery in rich designs

* Hovedon, "Annalium," 457.

adorned the prelate as well as the altar, and metal-work of an equally decorative character was in frequent requisition; the cardinals and higher officers of the Church being among the best patrons of the skilful workman.

It was not till the latter half of the thirteenth century that painting in Italy began to approach a national character. The Byzantine splendours had been in great request for church decoration, and the cardinals had employed it wherever their influence extended. Cimabue, and a little later Giotto, afforded evidence that a less mechanical style of art was attainable, and the pontifical court eagerly seized upon its professors for illustrating the sacred lessons they taught and the holy services in which they assisted. The ecclesiastical palaces, quite as much as the ecclesiastical churches and chapels, were adorned with these novel attractions; and pictures of human life in contemporary costume were attainable at a moderate outlay. The Princes of the Church, while employing the artist to delineate the most suggestive incidents of their religion for the edification of the multitude, did not disdain to have recourse to his talent for purposes purely secular. The result has been the creation of valuable illustrations of social life. They are not valuable solely for the light they throw on the progress of Italian painting; they are not less reliable as works of historical reference, on the manners, dress, and history of the Italian people.

Among these signs of increasing intelligence Robert Somercote pursued his clerical career.

Whatever did honour to the Church in the seat of its empire was in due course felt to the limits of its government. The student at the university was sure to have his attention directed to the elevation that filled the background of his landscape. It was still the clerical gate that led to the great highway of advancement; it was still in the sacerdotal ranks that the scholar looked to attain command. The licentiousness and disorder among the priesthood had been proclaimed by many reliable authorities besides the famous abbess Hildegarda, including the celebrated abbot Joachim,—models of zealous Catholicism. The boldness with which the latter denounced the abuses of the Church system, and held up particular popes to infamy, must have startled some of the cardinals, particularly when the abbot accused the Pope of acting as though he wanted to appear a god in the temple devoted to his worship. He represented that the Princes of the Holy See by their inordinate acquisitiveness with respect to church property, were suggesting to laymen how to profit by their example.

Both these once celebrated writers appear to have been gifted with a prophetic spirit, and foretold troubles to the Church through the influence of its secular spirit. Nevertheless, as the young priest could scarcely have failed to observe, the system went on; the Pope continued the source of sacerdotal emolument and honour, and the papal court remained the focus of European intrigue. Magnificent establishments and a sumptuous style of living more than ever characterized the position

of the cardinals. They spent munificently, and such expenditure required large revenues. The extent to which the Anglican Church was taxed for this may be imagined from the regular contributions forwarded to Rome. The two archbishops were obliged to pay for *annates* (first-fruits) ten thousand florins each, and five thousand more on receiving the pallium. There was a descending scale for the bishops; Winchester paying twelve thousand ducats, Durham nine thousand; while Bangor and Asaph were let off with a reduced payment of a hundred and twenty-six florins. The irregular contributions appear to have had no limit.* Other supplies continued to be drawn less from the liberality of the pious than the necessities of the rich; but the old taxes on human wickedness and credulity scarcely sufficed to satisfy the wants of the Papacy, and all kinds of expedients were practised to increase its resources.

In the first stage of his clerical career, Somercote was not likely to heed complaints against this system, if they reached him. An aspiring churchman was sure to see nothing but perfection in the institution in which he was desirous of rising. His belief in its infallibility was a matter of course. Every new member of the enormous caste that had spread over Christendom was expected to accept the ecclesiastical *status quo* as a condition of pre-eminent advantage, and he who desired to secure elevation in it, could only hope to do so by prominently becoming its eulogist and defender.

There does not publicly appear any evidence of Somercote's distinguishing himself as a pontifical

* Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ."

champion in the fierce contest then being carried on between the imperial and the papal power. He became eminent for superior scholarship, and may have been entrusted with an agency that brought his talents under the observation of one eager to profit by them. The Pontiff wanted some one who could keep him well informed on English affairs. There was a great deal of business of the kind going on at Rome, and he was anxious that there should be quite as much transacted in England for the profit of the Church. To the manner in which such affairs were managed there, we have already referred; but it is scarcely possible to convey a clearer idea of the absence of principles of justice or dignity than appears in the advocacy by Honorius III. of the cause of that notorious Fulcke de Breauté, who had been driven out of England by its wise and energetic chancellor De Burgh. The Pontiff had previously to this endeavoured to stop the course of justice in a manner that neither the English sense nor the English patriotism of Adrian IV. could have sanctioned.

In the year 1227 Henry III. put forward a claim to 11,000 marks deposited in the Temple by De Breauté; but this does not appear to have disturbed the relations between the king and the Pontiff at Rome, for the following year the former wrote to the emperor Frederick II., urging his reconciliation with the Church, and the next day to Gregory IX., who had succeeded Honorius, requesting him to sanction the union of the sees of Waterford and Lismore. His agent at Rome was employed in negotiating with the papal court respecting the suc-

cession to the see of Canterbury, and wrote to the chancellor announcing the arrival of the archbishop elect. The letter is a remarkable one, and states that the writer has obtained a bull for authorizing a loan,—evidently a secret transaction.*

'The disastrous result of the Crusades was a source of much mortification at the court of Rome. It lessened the influence of the Pope, while the imperial power was gaining ground. The successor of Honorius would not acknowledge this, and Frederick, having shown some reluctance in fulfilling a vow he had taken to lead an army into the Holy Land, was excommunicated. This elicited a stinging declaration from the Emperor, who denounced Gregory as a bloodsucker, the legates as wolves in sheep's clothing, and asserted that the object of both was to fetter liberty, to disturb peace, and extort gold. He did not confine his opposition to words; his army presently drove the Pontiff out of Rome. In the year 1228 he fulfilled his vow; but not in a spirit likely to satisfy the wishes of either cardinal or Pope. The papal wrath followed him to Jerusalem, where the Patriarch, the Knights Hospitallers, and the Templars, avoided him. A little later he was warned, by the Saracen leader, while pursuing a career of conquest, that a plot existed among these chivalrous knights for his assassination.

An instance of the reference to Rome to sanction illegal acts, occurred in the early part of the reign of Henry III., when the young king was still a minor. Pope Honorius was induced to give a dis-

* "Royal and Historical Letters," vol. i.

pensation to permit him to act as though he were of full age, "because, as we rejoice to learn, he has shown a manly mind, and progresses in prudence." Moreover, the Pontiff issued his commands to the persons who had hitherto carried on the government, to surrender to the youthful sovereign the free and peaceable management of his kingdom. In the answer to the charges made against Hubert de Burgh, there exists abundant evidence of the interposition of the papal authority in the affairs of England; * but the fact was notorious then and afterwards that Rome was a court of appeal, and that disputants of all kinds were encouraged to bring their causes there for settlement by the Pontiff and cardinals.

Gregory continued to pursue the same course, endeavouring to overthrow the imperial power both in Germany and Italy. He established an army of mercenaries, distinguished by the papal cognizance of the crossed keys, and the cardinals were occupied in endeavouring to turn these "key soldiers," as they were called, to profitable account. While busy with intrigues in the Holy Land and in Germany, they were startled by the announcement that the detested Emperor, backed by an immense army, was descending the Alps. Consternation reigned in every face in the consistory. The Emperor must be aware, they concluded, of the treachery from which he had escaped by the Sultan's chivalrous warning. The key soldiers could not stand a moment against the host about to invade Italy. The great spirit of Gregory succumbed; the

* Matthew Paris, "Additamenta,"

interdict was removed, and Frederick, unquestionably a heretic, was recognized as a faithful son of the Apostolic Church.*

When Gregory IX. had deposed and excommunicated the Emperor, the latter, after his return from Palestine, wrote letters to the senators as well as to the cardinals of Rome, exculpating himself and accusing the Pontiff. On the Sacred College the imperial epistles produced no visible effect, except to increase their labours; for the Pope was also a great letter-writer, and addressed everybody in Europe he hoped to prejudice against his opponent. In particular, very moving communications were forwarded to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, denouncing Frederick. At the same time he commissioned a legate to levy contributions on the faithful in England in his name, although it was scarcely a year since another had passed through the kingdom and extorted an enormous amount of treasure on the same pretence; while in the year 1229 a tenth of all ecclesiastical property had been taken to Rome.

Under such circumstances the diffusion of religious dissent was inevitable. Anthony Wood is extremely severe when obliged to note the appearance in England of persons professing heterodox opinions. He falls foul of "the Gerardins," who, he says, came like wolves from Gascony and Germany, rendering England a common prostitute, using the coarsest epithet he could employ; then

* Nevertheless, the Pontiff was not quite subdued; for when Frederick published a code of laws which derived all earthly power from the emperors, he, in 1234, put forward an opposition code, in which all such influence was shown to have its source in the popes.

came the Waldenses or Publicani, who, he states, "taught vehemently against monks, masses, purgatory, dedication of churches, veneration given to saints, suffrages for the dead, and such like." There is a contradiction in his assertion that few would admit such novelties, to his statement that some persons endeavoured to introduce them with a strong hand. The strong hand was employed by the clergy, who caused the reformers to be burnt in the forehead and banished the country.*

Disputation was a favourite scholastic exercise, but was sometimes carried on by arguments for which the opponent was totally unprepared. Joinville, in his Memoir of St. Louis, describes one which took place in the monastery of Clugny,—the monks against certain learned Jews. An ancient knight, resting on a crutch because of his infirmities, requested permission to put a question to the chief Rabbi. This being allowed, he asked the Hebrew if he believed in the immaculate nature of the Virgin Mary. An answer in the negative was followed by a heavy blow on the head with the crutch, that felled the Jew to the ground. The abbot was displeased with this way of closing an argument, but the knight insisted that it was the proper method of disputation with heretics,†—a method much in favour with the court of Rome.

The cardinals had for a time a respite from their labours of trying to move earth and heaven against the Emperor; for the representations of influential friends and the presence in Italy of an enormous

* "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 158.

† Joinville.

army reconciled the distinguished opponents. Then Frederick went to Rome, and by means of a lavish outlay secured absolution from the Pope and support from the Sacred College. The Roman court put on a new aspect; there seemed to be no such friend to the Church as the once hated Emperor; and in mutual jollity and feasting Pope and Kayser passed the happy hours.* Unfortunately, this good understanding did not last long. In a few years the feud between them broke out more violently than ever.

Notwithstanding the extent of Roman exactions, there was still at Rome a morbid hungering after English wealth. On the 13th of April, 1231, Henry III. had to write to Gregory IX. to excuse himself from granting a pension that had been required of him. The king was then asking his clergy for pecuniary aid. † In the following year there ensued a difference between the king and the Pontiff respecting the election of the archbishop of Canterbury, when the former wrote to the prior and convent of Christ Church, forbidding them to fulfil the papal mandate respecting it.‡

The dispute became more serious; the wife of Hubert de Burgh got into trouble for holding secret communications with the court of Rome, and in April, 1233, the king had to forbid the primate of York receiving papal excommunications contrary to the royal prerogative.§

Serious disorders broke out in the university of Cambridge in the spring of 1231, which the king

* Matt. West., 1230.
† "Royal Letters," i. 393-4-5.
‡ Ibid., 406.
§ Ibid., 412-13.

tried to put down by mandates to the sheriff, directing that no scholar was to remain in any college who had not a master of the schools for his tutor, and insisting that the rents for lodgings should be diminished.* The state of things at this university, however objectionable, was thrown into the shade by the chronic turbulence of the students at Oxford. If they were not fighting against the townsmen, they got up a little war among themselves, the northern scholars against the southern, or the English against the Irish. Occasionally they would join in an onslaught upon the monks, when they made an attack upon one of the houses of some neighbouring fraternity, and plundered it of everything worth carrying away.†

The commotions against the aliens attracted the attention of their patron in Rome, and Gregory IX. in March, 1234, addressed the bishops of Durham and Rochester, requiring the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans to excommunicate those who assisted in producing them. The Pontiff wrote also to the primate and the bishop of Ely, insisting on this extreme measure being carried out against all who were discontented with the promotion of foreigners. ‡

The explanation of this extraordinary interposition is that these strangers had been sent from Rome, and regularly transmitted to the Holy See too large a portion of their incomes to be lost to the pontifical exchequer without remonstrance. In

* "Royal and Historical Letters," i. 396-7-8.

† Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch).

‡ "Royal and Historical Letters," i. Appendix V.

these transactions there is still no sign of Somercote. At last we come upon his track.

In a letter from Henry III. to Simon Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, dated April 6, 1235, mention is made of Robert de Somercote, our priest.* He was probably at this time the king's chaplain or confessor, a post that must have given him considerable influence over the weak-minded king, while it was sure to render him an object of interest to the papal court. Gregory IX. could not be insensible to the advantage of having a trustworthy agent close to the royal ear; nor was he likely to neglect any opportunity of profiting by it.

The king, as he grew old, fell more completely into clerical leading-strings; one grand point with the clergy was to keep him from joining Frederick, whose quarrel with the Pope was becoming daily embittered by the intemperance of the disputants. Gregory organized an Italian coalition against the Emperor, and attacked him quite as relentlessly by means of epistles; but Frederick was as able as a scholar as he was as a general, and the Pontiff lost by both contests. Accusations of heresy and blasphemy were heaped upon the imperial head. The Emperor retorted by contrasting the papal professions with the papal practice.

"What said the teacher of all teachers?" he demanded. "*Peace* be with you! What mission did he entrust to his disciples? That of *love*. Why then do you, Christ's nominal vicar on earth, act in so contrary a spirit?"

* "Royal and Historical Letters," i. 463.

The question provoked an accession of wrath. "A beast," wrote the Pontiff, "hath risen from the sea, and opened its mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle, and those who dwell in heaven."

To this Frederick retorted: "Thou art thyself the beast of which it is written, 'And there went out another horse that was *red*,' and power was given him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth.' Thou art the dragon which deceived the whole world—*the antichrist.*"

These amenities did not improve the feelings of the pontifical and imperial courts. The Teutonic nobles were enraged against Rome, while all the cardinals were busy in endeavouring to destroy the Emperor's character as well as his influence. Notwithstanding that he had distinguished himself as a crusader, it was alleged that he had taken a force of Moorish soldiery into his pay. Moreover, it was charged against him, he had affirmed that he knew of three men who had deceived the world,—Moses the Jews, Christ the Christians, and Mahomet the Heathens. The first accusation appears to have been true; the latter rests entirely upon a personal enemy, the landgrave of Thuringia, who seems to have hastened to play the spy,* for the purpose

* "Lon Frangfort sprach Keyser Frederick. "Er synt dry gewest dy alle werlt betrogin han. Moises der had dy Juden betrogin, vnde Jhesus dy Christin, vnde Mahomet dy Heiden. De sprach Langrafe Henrich, desse rede togin uns nicht zou verswigin, wir mussin sy an vnsern geistlichen vatir den habist bringen. Vnde schreib das kegin Rome."—Rohte, "Chron. Thuringia."

of gaining the Pope's support to his own designs on the empire.

Nor was the Emperor inactive. In Germany so hostile a feeling to the Papacy had been created by the exactions of the papal agents, that when a legate was taken prisoner in the castle of Orth, he was put to a cruel death.

The event that most startled the cardinals was the secession of the eastern portion of the Romish Church. The Greek prelates had been forced to make journeys to Rome, and had suffered severely from the simony there openly encouraged. Great dissatisfaction had for some time prevailed; and in the year 1237 they refused to submit to Roman domination and extortion. The dispute ended by the establishment of a second Apostolic Church, subsequently known in history as the Greek Church, which still exists in complete independence of Rome. It was a formidable schism, and deprived the Pontiff of a large portion of his revenues. This he endeavoured to supply by sending persons into England, armed with the most arbitrary powers, with which they could wander from city to city, and from monastery to monastery, exacting heavy contributions.

The Cardinal Ottoboni, sent as legate to England, held a council at St. Paul's, London, in the year 1237, in which having cleverly settled the dispute between the archbishops of Canterbury and York as to their several dignities, by a reference to the relative positions of St. Peter and St. Paul, introduced a new series of regulations for the management of the Anglican Church. A reformation of several abuses

was attempted, especially with regard to finery in dress, and the caparisons of saddle-horses. Clerical concubines were to be dismissed within a month, under the penalty of deprivation, and hereditary succession to benefices forbidden. Scarcely had these important matters been satisfactorily arranged, when the legate received a communication from the Cardinal Colonna in figurative language, apprising him of the perilous position of the Church of Rome, and desiring his return.*

The prevalence of the crime of secret poisoning in Italy, more particularly among ecclesiastics, is not only a proof of the decadence of ordinary religious, but of ordinary social influences. It was regarded as an Italian practice; but in the year 1239 the court of Rome were startled by the announcement of the sudden death of an eminent prelate, a foreigner, whose relationship to the queen of England, and patronage by the Pope, had secured for him the English bishopric of Winchester. He had also been elected to the see of Liége. He died suddenly at Viterbo, and an Englishman named Lawrence was accused of having poisoned him. Fortunately the latter was able to prove his innocence, for the Pontiff had looked to make the deceased bishop very useful in advancing his schemes against the Emperor, and was greatly disappointed by his death.†

The king's chaplain had by this time found his way to Rome, where he quickly made influential friends. Somercote is mentioned by Cardella‡ as "Roberto Ummarcote." He was created cardinal

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1237. † Ibid.

‡ "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali," &c., ii. 256.

deacon de S. Adriano in the year 1234,* and was highly appreciated for his erudition by the pontifical court.

He now took up his residence at Rome, and formed one of the papal council. The strife between the spiritual and the temporal power became more and more fierce; and however the court of Rome may have fared while it continued, the rancour displayed there created an unfavourable impression on Christian Europe. The good Catholics were far from edified by the many displays of feeling, anything but apostolic, made by the head of the Apostolic Church. But the temper of Gregory IX. was not to be restrained by the opinions of any one.

Somercote remained attached to the Pontiff, apparently sharing in the responsibility of his violent measures against the Emperor. When Frederick had been excommunicated, he remonstrated with the king of England for sanctioning such arbitrary proceedings. Henry sent a communication to Rome suggesting milder measures. This put the Holy Father into an ungovernable rage, and in the midst of his counsellors he declared that not one faithful man could be found in England. A cardinal averred that the king employed foreigners because he could put no trust in his subjects. Matthew Paris says that Robert de Somercote, who was present, prudently held his tongue, though very angry at the accusation. In a subsequent passage he states that Somercote interrupted the slanderer with severe reproaches. The falsehood of the charge was manifested when the Emperor, having had recourse

* Ciaconius says of St. Eustachius.

to arms, was marching triumphantly upon the city. The danger of the Pope caused his desertion by all his cardinals, except the Englishman, who, remembering by whom he had been elevated to his present dignity, would not abandon him, though he disapproved of his measures.

Soon afterwards a general council was summoned to take into consideration the perilous position of the Church. Though his cardinals were against him, Gregory continued to exhibit his customary spirit. On one occasion this produced a scene: the Holy Father required Cardinal John of Colonna, who directed a negotiation with Frederick, to commit what he considered to be a breach of good faith: this was declined. The Pope then angrily exclaimed, "You are no longer my cardinal." To this the latter promptly replied, "I will no longer regard you as my Pope."*

In an account of a disputation between the Franciscans in the presence of Gregory IX., Friar Haymo is stated to have been encouraged to speak against Friar Helias by Cardinal Somercote.†

Pope Gregory made an arrangement with the Roman nobles in the year 1240 to the effect that, if they would assist him with their military forces to carry on the war against the emperor Frederick, whatever rich benefices in England fell vacant should be bestowed on their relations. It is impossible to

* Matthew Paris, 1240.

† "Monumenta Franciscana," Brewer, 46. "Et cum vellet ei respondere Frater Haymo, non concessit papa, donec dominus Robertus de Somercote, cardinalis, dixit ei, 'Domine, iste senex vir bonus est; bonum est ut audiatis eum, quia breviloquus est.'" —Thomas de Eccleston, "De Adventu Minorum."

convey a clearer idea of the helpless condition of the Anglican Church; in this way foreigners were thrust into preferments for which they were totally incompetent, and monks and chapters obliged to elect superiors of whom they had no knowledge whatever. Cardinal Somercote must have felt humiliated by this degradation of the English clergy; but the Pope was not in the habit of regarding anything but expediency; he wished to destroy the obnoxious Emperor; a Roman army could not be recruited without a sufficient prospect of profit, and he claimed to do as he liked with all ecclesiastical property.

Under the authority of Gregory papal exactions in England were increased by his agents to an extent that threatened to deprive the country of its coinage, while rich benefices were filled with his creatures without the slightest respect to the claims of qualified Englishmen. The indignation of Matthew Paris often breaks out into very strong language while chronicling these abuses; but his country was not exclusively favoured in that way—the domination of the Pope was carried on with the same unscrupulousness in other Catholic countries, and the successes of the Emperor were watched by many of the clergy and laity, in the hope that they might put an end to such abuses.

The cupidity of the Roman court is described as having far exceeded its previous bad eminence. In the last years of the pontificate of Gregory, unheard-of schemes of extortion were put in force to obtain money from English religious houses reported to be wealthy. There was only one cardinal of that

nation in the consistory, and were, he disposed to interfere in behalf of his brethren in the face of their insatiate desire to appropriate English treasure, any remonstrance must have been fruitless. Cardinal Somercote, therefore, was obliged to share the odium which the Sacred College merited by their schemes to get annual supplies from Peterborough and other rich abbeys on conditions apparently favourable. The transaction was conducted with secrecy; but the king having been informed of it, forbade the arrangement.* The papal agents were more successful in other directions, and returned to Rome laden with English money.

Frederick carried on the war in Italy with increased vigour. From Apulia he marched upon and captured Faenza, and menaced the States of the Church. As he had married a daughter of the king of England, he had found no difficulty in gaining friends there; for with many of the nobles the oppressive conduct of the papal agent had become quite as odious as it was in Germany.

The cardinals saw with alarm the successes of the enemy of the Holy Father; but the Pontiff did not relax his efforts. As a last resource, he called a general council at Rome to meet during Easter of the year 1241; and to all parts of the Christian world the pontifical court sent out summonses to the chief prelates to assemble for the despatch of urgent business profoundly affecting the interests of the Holy Apostolic Church. In the mean time castle after castle in the Papal States fell, and Rome was threatened with a siege.

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1241.

Pope Gregory died apparently of extreme old age, as his life had been prolonged far beyond the natural term; but it has been stated that he died of grief because the Emperor had surprised one of his castles in the Campagna, built by money drawn from the Crusaders for the protection of his kinsmen, and had hanged all whom he had found there.

It was nearly a century since an Englishman had been selected to govern the papal see; and again there was a cardinal of that nation well qualified in every respect to fill the chair of the Apostle; but the Italians were covetous of the distinction. Though jealous of each other's pretensions, they united in hatred of their brethren from beyond the Alps, against whom they had cultivated an inveterate prejudice. The Englishman, however, had friends in the conclave, although they were not in sufficient number to secure his election.

The Emperor was not insensible to the interests involved in the election; but he had taken, as he considered, the most effectual means of turning it to the advancement of his own objects. He had opposed the idea of a general council, and, to prevent its assembling, had intercepted the vessels at sea that were conveying the cardinals and other prelates to Rome, among whom was the legate, who had in charge a large sum of money collected in England to aid the Pope in carrying on the war. It became the prize of the Emperor, and was doubtless employed to pay the troops who were invading the Pontifical States. The prelates also became his captives, and were carried ashore and placed in safe custody.

There appear to have been ten cardinals at Rome when Gregory's dissolution took place, and they discreetly sent a message to the Emperor requesting him to liberate and forward the two members of their college whom he had captured at sea with other prelates, as the welfare of the Church depended on their election of a pope. The request was complied with, on the condition that they should return to the prison when the election was decided, unless this was in favour of his own nominee, Cardinal Ottoboni. But according to Matthew Paris, there were two popes chosen,—one Godfrey of Milan, by six cardinals, of whom Robert Somercote was one; the other Romanus, who had the suffrages of the three others. There was, as usual on such occasions, a dispute; but the Emperor favoured Godfrey. There seems to have been a disposition to have a new election, and the English cardinal was thought the most worthy of the distinction; but to prevent this his Italian rivals are stated to have poisoned him.*

This infamous charge, unfortunately, is likely to have been true, the crime having lately become very common in Rome: several English priests had been got rid of in the same way; another cardinal died by similar means; and though Godfrey was elected Pope, in sixteen days he too was carried off,

* Matthew Paris, 1241. "Unde defuncto Gregorio prædicto, omnium cardinalium dignissimus existimatus est qui illi in Pontificato succederet: et successisset sine dubio, nisi ex tam sacrosancto cœtu nonnulli, invidia tacti, et nullo modo patiendum rati, ut Petri cathedram aliquis conscenderet, nisi generis Italici; veneno ipsum tollendum curassent in ipso conclavi, ubi electio erat celebranda."—Godwin, 787.

as well as the cardinal bishop of Ostia. Terror took possession of other members of the Sacred College; they fled and concealed themselves, leaving the Papal See without a head.

Of "Robertus Vumercote" the pontifical annalists add little to what is stated in his epitaph. He was created a cardinal deacon of St. Eustachius, was a learned and prudent man, much appreciated by several popes, and died in 1241.* His English biographers are not much more communicative.

The cardinal was not the only one of his name who attained distinction in the Church. There was a Lawrence Somercote, who, in March, 1256, was resident at Rome. He wrote to England to the Chancellor Wingham, informing him that Sir William Brandon had, in Apulia, become aware of a plot against the king, and had desired him to testify to his credibility. The same person, by another letter written in the month of May, appears to have been subsequently in Dublin collecting money. He requests to be employed in any country except Ireland.†

* Ciaconius, 663, 682. Cardella, ii. 256. Godwin, 787.

† "Royal and Historical Letters," Henry III., Dr. Shirley, ii. 116-17.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN OF TOLEDO, CARDINAL PRIEST.

Oriental Scholarship and Science—John a Cistercian Monk—Arabian Scholars in the Anglican Church—Bishop Grosstête—Delay in Electing a Pope—Innocent IV. offers to visit England—elevates John of Toledo to be a Cardinal—Flight of the Pope—Cardinal John with the Papal Court—the Council of Lyons—the Pope's Charge—Defence of the Emperor—his Condemnation—Impoverishing of England through Papal Exactions—Cardinal John remonstrates with the Pope—New Sects—Death of the Emperor—the Lady of Lyons—Bishop Grosstête a Reformer—his Interview with Pope Innocent—Richard of Cornwall—Archbishop Boniface—Sewal, Archbishop of York—the Ribalds—the English Cardinal—Death of Pope Innocent—the Sicilian Swindle—Alexander IV.—Dispute in Paris—Revolt in Rome—Begging Friars—Urban IV. creates John a Cardinal Priest—Provisions of Oxford—another Legate in England—the Inquisition—Gregory X.—Death of John of Toledo.

TOLEDO was in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century in great repute as the centre of oriental scholarship. The cultivation by the Spanish Arabs of literature and science had made it eminent in Europe as a university, and several Englishmen were attracted there by the facilities the city afforded for study. Among others was Daniel de Merlai, the author of the once celebrated treatise "De Naturis Inferiorum et Superiorum," who took back to England not only

considerable erudition, but a vast supply of MSS. Previously to this, however, Oriental literature had attracted the attention of English scholars who studied in Spain. Such was Robert de Retines, archdeacon of Pampeluna, who assisted in translating the Koran. Athelard of Bath, "Philosophus Anglorum," was also profoundly learned in Arabian science. He was the author of "Quæstiones Naturales," and several translations from Arabic, and edited the Elements of Euclid.

Among the English churchmen who were favoured at the court of Rome was Alfred, usually designated the philosopher, he being, like many of his countrymen, an ardent student of Arabian science. He subsequently became chaplain to Cardinal Ottoboni, and is stated to have been in his suite when Urban IV. sent him to England as legate.

John, with the affix that denotes the same source of study, was a Cistercian monk, and though not so celebrated as some other scholars who had acquired fame in the cloister, attained so much reputation as to bring him under the favourable notice of his ecclesiastical superiors. He made himself serviceable to the papal officials, and in time gained a position amongst them that kept him a close observer of the occurrences which affected the Papacy during a memorable period in its annals.

The court of Rome in the pontificate of Innocent III. showed favour to an Englishman, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, called also Galfridus de Vinsalvo, and Galfridus Anglicus. The papal patronage he acknowledged by dedicating to his

patron a metrical treatise, bearing the title "Nova Poetria," which was extremely popular in the thirteenth century. It was a new Art of Poetry, but in no way resembled that of Ovid. The nature and source of its inspiration may be seen in its extravagant praises of Pope Innocent.*

Among the hierarchy of the English Church, there was a bishop singularly in advance of his age. He presided over the diocese of Lincoln, and was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties. He was pious as well as learned, honest as well as bold, set an excellent example of what a prelate ought to be, and reproved sinners, lay and ecclesiastical, no matter what their rank or position. No one had a better knowledge of the abuses of the Church, and no one was more earnest in desiring to see them reformed.

The examples of such eminent churchmen as Robert Grosstête, bishop of Lincoln, and Sewal, archbishop of York, shows the decadence of the papal system in the Anglican Church as early as the thirteenth century. The former was contemporary with Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Roger Bacon; moreover, was scarcely less distinguished for his acquirements. He was praised by writers in

* "Jam mare transcurri, Gades in littore fixi,
Et mihi te portum statuo, qui, maxima rerum
Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque.
Quem Deus elegit socium. Socialiter egit
Tecum partitus mundum. Sibi noluit unus
Omnia, sed voluit tibi terras, et sibi cœlum.
Quid potuit melius? quid majus? cui meliori?
Vel cui majori? Dico minus. Imo vel æque
Magno vel simili."

verse and prose; indeed, some of the marvels with which Friar Bacon was credited, were produced by this accomplished prelate. He is, moreover, to be regarded as a precursor of the Reformation; for though, like other eminent churchmen, he had no intention of separating from the Church of Rome, his denunciation of its abuses formed a foundation for those protests against her authority, which public opinion put forth in every subsequent age, till a complete independence of the Anglican Church was effected. He was an earnest partisan of the Pope against the Emperor, under the impression apparently that the latter was an infidel.

The regular clergy were generally opposed to the monks, especially those of the mendicant orders; but Bishop Grosstête was in favour of the Franciscans* and Dominicans, and expressed a very high opinion of them to Gregory IX. The fact is that the parish clergy were quite as negligent and immoral as the worst examples of the monastic orders, while the begging friars at this period generally led exemplary lives. Having been educated at Oxford, Grosstête always evinced a warm interest in the university when its diocesan; nevertheless no more earnest reformer of clerical abuses ever wore a mitre. It must not, however, be forgotten that he exhibited a peculiar interest in the papal court, where he maintained a proctor to acquaint him with the proceedings of those who had complained against him at Rome. His quarrels were long and severe; but he contrived to have his own way.

Grosstête's business at the council became

* He was their rector at Oxford.

known on his return to England when he assisted in securing for the Pope the revenue for seven years of all the benefices in the see of Canterbury, till the sum of seven thousand marks should be raised. It was clear that the satisfactory settlement of his long quarrel with his chapter had thus been arranged. The Pontiff made further exactions, and though the king resisted, the bishop acquiesced. Grosstête's devotion to the Pope was further shown by his vindication of the genuineness of the blood of our Saviour, which the master of the Templars and Hospitallers had sent to the king of England, in a crystal vase, and the king had presented to the church at Westminster. But his complaisance did not prevent Gregory from taking the side of the king when he sent a complaint against the bishop.

Grosstête, it may be presumed, did not at this time cultivate quite such cordial relations with the papal court (now at Perugia) as he had done, but carried on the work of reformation with increased spirit. All priests who did not act up to their professions were treated with the same severity; backsliding monks and nuns were punished, and persons irregularly dealing with benefices excommunicated with relentless severity. The king presently was in a rage with him. He secured from the Pontiff the grant of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom, and the bishop of Lincoln having opposed "the cursed contribution," his anger increased.

To show his feeling against the Pope (Innocent IV.) Grosstête caused a calculation to be made, by which it was proved that he drew from the country three times the income of the king, and when—January 26,

1253—the Pontiff sent a request for a canonry at Lincoln for his nephew, he replied with a civil refusal.

This communication enraged Innocent into exclamations that threatened a speedy and ignominious conclusion to the career of the bold prelate; but a friendly cardinal interposed, and spoke in such eloquent terms of his learning, his piety, and his zeal, as well as his popularity, that the Pontiff thought it prudent to say no more on the subject.

Though the infirmities of age were increasing upon him, Bishop Grosstête continued to inveigh against the corruptions of the Papacy and the Pope with a freedom that entitles him to the highest praise as a reformer. No such spirited language had been heard or read in England, as he expressed in conversation and correspondence. Whatever may be said to the contrary,* to the close of his valuable life this bold prelate was a direct and intense opponent of the papal system.

The English spirit of resistance to tyranny had lost its Langton; his successor, Edmund Rich, was too timid for the emergency, and Boniface was rapacious and despotic—a creature of the English and Roman court, and a relentless enemy to all who betrayed a patriotic feeling; but in Robert Grosstête they found a zealous reformer of church abuses.

No class of persons were more severe in their reflections on the Princes of the Church than some of their own body. Cardinal Damiani, in one of his

* Rev. H. R. Luard, "Roberti Grosseteste" (Rolls Publications), preface.

epistles, describes the higher ecclesiastics during the pontificate of Gregory VII. as "slaves to voluptuous living, while the poor were left to die of famine," and the Cardinal St. George, in the thirteenth century, in one of his satires, avers that the order had sunk to the lowest level, nepotism being the one object of their existence.

"L'ordine Cardinalato
Porto ha in basso stato,
Chi suo parentado
D'arrica ha intentione."

Nevertheless there were instances in which the dignity was worthily maintained.

The prevalence of abuses in the English monasteries through the connivance of the court of Rome, is established by the complaints of the prelates, who were anxious for their return to proper discipline. It was well known that by paying an ounce of gold annually into the papal exchequer, they could be relieved from episcopal supervision. This not only permitted these fraternities to indulge in every kind of excess, but openly to defy their ecclesiastical superiors, occasioning the most scandalous disturbances. The primate* had addressed a letter to Innocent III., forcibly pointing out the evils this bad system produced; but the dogma that the Pope was infallible, and that what he permitted was not to be questioned, proved an effectual bar to every suggestion for reform. The more observant English churchmen who visited Rome came away with the conviction that the Church was being undermined by its manifold corruptions.

* Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The papal legate at last excited revolt. Sir Robert Twenge, a Yorkshire knight, boldly proceeded to Rome, bearing a spirited protest from the patriotic nobles. The Anglican prelates held counsel together in London, when they turned upon Cardinal Ottoboni so determinedly, that he was obliged to confine his supervision to the monasteries, from which he extorted considerable sums. The Pope then demanded a fifth of the revenues of the Anglican Church to assist him in his war against the Emperor. Archbishop Rich surrendered the primacy to escape from the impending conflict, and retired to the abbey of Pontigny; and the papal agents, supported by the feeble-minded Henry III., persisted in their exactions, and secured a large sum.*

The few cardinals who could be got to lay aside their disputes and animosities succeeded, in September, 1241, in electing as pope, Godfrey, a Milanese (Celestine IV.). They were led to this, apparently, more because of his advanced age than from his moral or intellectual fitness for the office; but decrepit as he was, and short as must have been the natural remnant of his life, his pontificate was not permitted to endure beyond sixteen days. Other members of the college dying about the same time, a panic, as we have already intimated, seized the majority, and there were only left in Rome half a dozen of the more enterprising, who took upon themselves the government of the Church, and in their own names issued decrees whenever they deemed papal intervention necessary. The Church of England

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1240. None of it reached the papal treasury. See *antè*, p. 278.

was greatly dissatisfied with this arrangement, and made urgent appeals to the Emperor to expedite the election of a pope. He laid the blame upon the court of Rome.

The choice of a pontiff was not much facilitated by the emperor Frederick allowing his captives to proceed to take part in the election; for when they had assembled, the cardinals could not agree. Finding this, Cardinal Ottoboni proposed to return to his imprisonment. The Emperor, pleased with his good faith, treated him as a friend; but he threatened the Sacred College to level the cities of the Holy See to the ground if they did not presently come to a decision. Moreover he caused a guard to be placed round their residence to prevent any from escaping. They were also menaced from other quarters, if they did not at once make up their minds.

The conclave apparently sat, and the conclave apparently deliberated; but month after month went by without any result. In this way more than a year was wasted. They were much troubled with contending claims, and it has been stated that the members broke out into acts of violence against each other.

The account given by Matthew Paris of this prolonged vacancy in the Papacy is disparaging to the cardinals. Still not more than six remained in Rome; the rest were in hiding, far apart; the community existing, according to the chronicler, "like sand without lime." They continued obstinate, living in constant dissension, and only agreeing to cajole the Emperor. It is clear that they were in

no hurry to elect a master. They exercised the sovereignty, and enjoyed its revenues without any apprehension of being called to account. Long after Frederick had granted their request, spared the cities of the Holy See and liberated his ecclesiastical captives, they maintained the same indecision. They could not, or would not, agree.

A communication from the court of France, threatening to choose a pope for them, if they did not do it at once, at last roused them into action. The papal authority had been carried on in the names of three cardinal priests and as many deacons; but the Sacred College now put a stop to this arrangement, and assembled to form a conclave. Matthew Paris states that the election took place at Anagni, after a delay of a year and nine months.

The cardinals were abused by the Emperor for keeping the Papacy vacant. They were called sons of Belial, and sons of Ephraim, while he averred that the Prince of Darkness presided at their councils, and inflamed their minds with discord and jealousy.* His patience being exhausted, to expedite their decision, he now ravaged their estates and plundered their churches.

In 1243 they came to an agreement, and Innocent IV. ascended the papal chair. John of Toledo, like every good monk, received with gratification the intelligence of this arrangement. The Papacy

* "Ad vos est hoc verbum filii Effrem, male tendentes arcum, et pennis emittentes sagittas turpiter in die belli quasi retrorsum. Ad vos est hoc verbum filii Belial, dispersionis oves," &c.—"Annales Ecclesiastici," Baronius, tom. ii. f. 280. Lucæ, 1747.

had at last a head, which it was hoped would be raised to an eminence that might enable it to look down upon its enemies. With his countrymen, however, the Church of Rome was certainly not gaining popularity.

Another outburst of patriotic spirit had occurred in England after the departure of the cardinal legate. The papal nuncio, Martin, was proceeding in the same course when his privacy at his lodgings with the Templars was disturbed by the sudden appearance of Fulke Fitzwarren, as a messenger from the barons to bid him begone. Having ascertained his authority, Martin sought the king; but Henry III. plucked up a little spirit when he heard his haughty questions, and plainly told him that his iniquitous oppressions had excited a degree of hatred which was likely to end in his being torn to pieces. The agent, frightened at this prospect, begged for a safe-conduct, when the king replied intemperately, "The devil carry thee to hell." So enraged were the people of all degrees against him, that it was with difficulty he escaped to report to the Pontiff, then in France, the unwelcome news of his expulsion.*

Matthew of Westminster mentions John of Toledo as a monk remarkable for his accomplishments and scholarship. His elevation to the Sacred College by Innocent IV., in 1244, with the title of St. Lorenzo in Lucina, may have been a great advance in dignity, but could have added little to his comfort, for the Pope, dreading the anger of

* Matthew Paris.

the emperor Frederick, was even then making preparations for flight. His intention was kept secret from the cardinals; he departed secretly, alone, and at night, and mounting a swift horse, rode thirty-four miles without any one being aware of his absence.

When this was discovered, the commotion in the palace was that of a hive conscious of the disappearance of the queen bee. The Pope reached Civita Vecchia in safety, where he was joined by seven of the cardinals, with whom he embarked on board a galley that conveyed him to Genoa. It has been stated he had received intelligence that large supplies for him were stopped, in consequence of the bearers not liking to risk themselves in countries under the dominion of the Emperor, and that he had determined to venture a long journey to secure them.

A fleet of Genoese galleys had protected him during the voyage, and the people of Genoa gave him an ovation; but the city was shortly so encompassed by sea and land by the armaments of the Emperor that Innocent found himself a prisoner. Despite, however, of his armed bands, some of the cardinals contrived to join him at Genoa, where the Pope's kindred and friends resided; but finding himself not quite secure in that city, he proceeded towards the French frontier to Asti, where he had been assured he would receive pecuniary assistance from France and England. In a short time he left this refuge, and by travelling day and night with great secrecy eluded the imperial troops sent to intercept him, and reached

Lyons, where himself and the cardinals were in comparative safety.

He intended to go on to Rheims, but this the king of France forbade. The Pontiff had recourse to excommunication, and his opponent endeavoured to persuade the king of England to put a stop to papal exactions in his dominions. This induced the king to make an inquiry, and it was found that the Pope's agent, nicknamed "Mastiff," in consequence of his greediness, collected a revenue equal to that of the king; so he had been directed to leave the country with all convenient speed; and finding that his life was not worth an hour's purchase, he had not waited for a second bidding.

Innocent IV. and his court made such enormous gains in England, that they must have regarded the country as an ecclesiastical Land of Promise,—a land not only overflowing with milk and honey, but with treasure of every description; and now that they were fugitives from Rome, they entertained the idea of coming in person to gather in the rich harvest then apparently ripe for the pontifical sickle. The nuncio, whilst greedily filling his coffers, had suggested to Henry III. the immortal glory, the unprecedented honour that might be conferred on his reign by a personal visit of "the Father of Fathers;" but the royal counsellors peremptorily declined both the glory and the distinction, bluntly averring that the kingdom had already suffered too much from Roman usury and simony, to endure pillage from the Pope.*

Pope Innocent IV. oppressed the Church with

* Matthew Paris, sub anno 1245.

intolerable exactions, and obtained large sums through the Preaching Brothers and Minorites, who were his collectors. Prelates he suspended till they chose to come to terms with him; in short, was a shepherd who cared more for a heavy fleece than a numerous flock.

Cardinal John attended the Pope in all his wanderings, and assisted in the administration of his government. The papal court had been forced to continue migratory, through the influence of the Emperor. They now began to realize the position of the Church, and had many earnest and serious consultations as to the best means of securing the help she so greatly needed. There appeared to be no better resource than a general council.

The conflict between the Emperor and the Pope disturbed not only the peace of the Sacred College, but that of all Europe. One authority compares the two to a good husband and a bad wife, for whenever the former sought to establish his authority, the latter called in her friends—alluding to the support given by France. The Pontiff at least outvied any wife in the power of scolding, exceeding Gregory in the fierceness of his denunciations. He accused Frederick of intending to extirpate the Church that he might remain the sole object of human worship,—an extravagant idea, that shows how completely his detestation of his opponent had got the better of his reason. The Emperor wanted to confine the Papacy to its original functions, but the ambition of succeeding pontiffs had rendered this impossible.

Innocent trod closely in the steps of his pre-

decessor in animosity to the Emperor, and in oppressing the Church of England. The first was a renewal of the struggle to over-ride the temporal power; by the other he maintained the idea that everything in the country was at the disposal of the Pope. On his confirming Gregory's sentence of excommunication, Conrad, Frederick's son, intercepted remittances proceeding to Rome, and the treasury in consequence falling low, an agent was sent to England with power to appropriate whatever he could lay his hands upon. Though the Pontiff this year lost one of his ablest supporters in his antagonism to the Emperor, Cardinal John Colonna, this did not lessen its severity, nor could apparently any state of affairs diminish the inclination of the papal court for English money.

Papal intolerance was not more acceptable at Lyons than it was in England, and both churchmen and laymen made resistance. A fire broke out in the Pope's chamber, which destroyed many things of value. The rage of the Pontiff reached its climax, when Martin presented himself before him with a pitiful tale of having been driven out of England. He did as he liked with the English, appointing Boniface, a Provençal, uncle of the queen of England, to be primate, and two bishops, Chichester and Chester, without the slightest reference to the king. He then called a general council to be held at Lyons, making it known that the Church was in so impoverished a state, that pecuniary assistance would be very desirable. He hoped to receive handsome contributions from zealous and ambitious churchmen.

Frederick made another effort at reconciliation; but his overtures were rejected.

In the ancient city of Lyons, in the year 1245, the Pope collected a servile council. The English representatives found an opportunity for protesting against the outrageous tyranny which oppressed their country; but Boniface, the primate, was brother of the duke of Savoy, the most zealous of papal partisans; was moreover a foreigner, and almost as rapacious as the worst of the Pope's legates. The assembly did not meet to reform spiritual abuses, but to consummate a signal triumph over temporal authority. The subservient prelates, as will be seen, kept that purpose steadily in view, and left the crying grievances of England unredressed.

Innocent, with all the cardinals, officiated in the church of St. John, before the commencement of proceedings, and preached a sermon on the text, "O, all ye who pass by the way, attend, and see if there is any grief like my grief." He then in the same spirit identified five of his grievances with the five griefs of the Redeemer. The former were the progress of the Tartars, the Greek schism in the Church, the spread of heresies, the state of the Holy Land, and his quarrel with the Emperor. What these had to do with the sorrows of his divine prototype could not have been very clearly seen, yet the Pontiff contrived to produce a most moving address, in which he appealed to the clerical sympathies of the more intensely ecclesiastical portion of his audience by an exaggerated

representation of the evils inflicted on the spiritual by the temporal power.

The defence made by Thaddeus of Suessa, the Emperor's advocate, might have proved satisfactory in a less prejudiced court, for in reply to the Pope's charge of perjury, he showed papal and imperial documents by which it was proved that the Pontiff had neglected his engagements, which led the Emperor to neglect his; while he confuted the accusation of heresy, by the fact that Frederick had only employed Saracen soldiers to restrain unruly subjects, and had dismissed his Saracen women, who had merely amused him as drolls. The Emperor could also boast that he never permitted usurers in his dominions—a reflection on their encouragement by the Princes of the Church. Thaddeus asked that the accused should be heard in his own defence; but this Innocent opposed, threatening to leave the assembly if the Emperor was permitted to enter. On the representations, however, of the proxies of the English and French kings, the council allowed him a fortnight to prepare his answer. Unfortunately for Frederick, he was impatient of such jurisdiction, and spoke disparaging words of the council, which exasperated the feeling that had been excited against him. The representatives of England, who had supported Thaddeus, were censured for befriending a notorious enemy to the Church, and were obliged to succumb to the clamour raised by the Pope and cardinals.

The imperial advocate would not permit himself

to be browbeaten. He openly declared his client's accuser the son of a pirate who had been hanged by the Emperor for his crimes, and that he was ambitious of treading in the steps of his parent. Prodigious was the excitement that now prevailed, for presently one after another of the cardinals and prelates who had suffered, or whose friends had suffered, by their seizure when at sea, rose and denounced the Emperor. It was in vain that Thaddeus explained that their captivity was accidental; moreover that they had previously been warned: the assembly had made up their minds. The English ambassadors, foreseeing how the affair would terminate, contented themselves with an effort to preserve the rights of Frederick's children.

It was during one of the sittings of the council that the leader of the English embassy, William de Pomeric, brought under its attention the abuses practised in England, in the name and with the authority of the Pope. The exposure would have been a startling one in any other court; but by a very large majority, mere creatures of the Papacy, such abuses were regarded as matters of course. The Pontiff heard all in silence, and no one venturing to say a word, he contemptuously deferred his consideration *sine die*.

He saw that the council were ripe for judgment on the great cause he had so dexterously managed; and though Thaddeus exhausted his eloquence and his ability in his client's defence, nothing could divert the Pope from the object he had in view in summoning that assembly.

The great council at Lyons was regarded with

anxiety by many influential laymen. Innocent had taken care to impress upon those who held authority in the Church, that it was a life-and-death struggle of the spiritual against the temporal power, and had laboured incessantly in co-operation with his cardinals in appealing to the interests of the prelates. Thaddeus having eloquently defended the Emperor from the charges brought against him, protested against the authority of the council, and demanded a more impartial court and a more Christian pontiff.

"Dies iræ! dies doloris!" he exclaimed, when judgment was pronounced, as the members of the tribunal, sinking the lighted tapers they held, extinguished them against the ground.

"So vanish for ever the Emperor's glory and prosperity!" exclaimed the exultant Pope; and the assembled cardinals cried "Amen!"

The English deputation did not receive any answer to their complaints either from the Pope or the cardinals. In truth, the latter were so elated by their complete success in overthrowing "the great dragon," as they styled the Emperor, that "the little dragons," the kings of France and England, were almost overlooked. At last, finding that no satisfaction was forthcoming, they left Lyons in anger, and on their return home did not fail to give their countrymen a proper report of their failure. About the same time the deposed Emperor addressed a letter to his kinsman, the king of England, giving a moving account of the wrongs he and the king had sustained at the hands of the Pontiff, counselling resistance, and assuring

him of the nullity of the sentence of deposition. As may readily be imagined, Frederick had many friends in England; Innocent very few.

The Emperor was not dismayed by his condemnation. He published a defence, which stated that the restoration of the Church to its apostolic purity and simplicity had been the sole object of his proceedings, but that his great obstacle had been the worldly lusts of the clergy. He accused the temporal princes of neglecting their duty, and permitting the Pope to exercise an unlimited and crushing power. In reply, Innocent asserted that Christ had founded a temporal as well as a spiritual supremacy, which he conferred on St. Peter, and his successors the popes. These pretensions he maintained by a successful exercise of the pontifical influence, and his cardinals had the satisfaction of seeing his power extended in every direction. Money flowed into the papal exchequer, the collectors almost levied what they pleased, and the Sacred College gave themselves up to a life of enjoyment.

It was before this council that Robert Grosstête bishop of Lincoln, ventured on the bold exposure of the vices of the court of Rome, that rendered him subsequently obnoxious to the Pope. If anything could have induced that assembly to take a real interest in the welfare of the common faith, this eloquent discourse ought to have done it. He spoke directly to the point, and without any reservation traced the source of the great evils that afflicted the Church. He denounced the secular characteristics of the Papacy; and, in particular, threatened the belligerent Pontiff with the Scrip-

tural declaration, that he who has recourse to the sword shall perish by the sword; but most remarkable was his distinct intimation that the papal proceedings were likely to produce contention and schism.*

During the discussions which took place at the council, it was not the English bishop only who demonstrated the anti-scriptural use of the sword as a papal influence. Humbert de Romanis, general of the Dominicans, attacked the principle of the Crusades, and declared that it was unlawful as well as impolitic to assail infidels in their own country with the object of maintaining Christianity. He stated that though in the first instance this warfare had been recommended as a means of securing pardon for great sinners, the class of adventurers by whom it was carried on had brought failure and reproach on the cause.

These arguments, like those of the bishop of Lincoln, were not to be confuted; but the Pontiff and his government knew to what pecuniary profit the Crusades had been turned, and were too deeply impressed with the secular spirit to abandon the sword whenever an appeal to arms became necessary in the papal quarrels.

The Pope had declared the necessities of the Church, and many wealthy churchmen came forward with liberal contributions. Among others an Englishman, then abbot of St. Denis, who produced so large an amount of coin as to astonish the

* Brown. "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum, prout ab Orthuino Gratio editus," App., fol. 251. Londini, 1690.

members of the assembly. He was at once created archbishop of Rouen.

The deposition of the Emperor was carried out. The document in which this sentence is expressed heaps all kinds of charges against him; but far from overwhelming the offender, he chose to aggravate his crime by striving to effect a coalition between himself and the kings of England and France, to put a stop to this summary way of disposing of an empire. His opponent succeeded in raising money to support the landgrave of Thuringia, whom he had appointed emperor in his place. Moreover, Innocent was striving to crush England after the same fashion, for having complained to the council.

The king and parliament remonstrated against the continuance of the pillage of their country, which had recommenced with greater vigour; but the Pope answered them in very sharp terms. It was then decreed that no papal mandates should be obeyed. Unfortunately the king was not equal to the emergency, and succumbed to the pontifical threats, and the plunder went on.

Appeals were once more made to the papal court, and the Holy See, being threatened by Frederick, who had disposed of his rival, thought it prudent to give way and reduce its exorbitant demands. But a certain Brother John of the Minorites, an Englishman, was sent to England, and levied imposts as relentlessly as his predecessors. The abbot of St. Alban's sent an agent to complain of him to the papal court; and again there was an abatement of the oppression, and again there was more extor-

tion. Then a parliament was summoned at Oxford to avert the impoverishment of the kingdom; but Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the Anglican prelates, were content with being the submissive agents of the Pope, and the evil continued unabated.

At last, in the year 1246, a general movement manifested itself in England to get rid of the Pontiff's burthensome rule. The grievances of the kingdom were laid before Parliament, and from them it was scarcely possible to discover that any power existed in the country capable of preserving its institutions, wealth, or lands, from papal covetousness. Letters of complaint were therefore forwarded from the king, the Parliament, and the abbots, to the Pope, and from the king to the cardinals, dwelling on the oppressions endured by both clergy and laity. There was nothing too small or too great to escape papal cupidity. An English ecclesiastic had decorated his robe with gold fringe, and when the Pope ascertained that it had been made in England, he sent out letters to each of the prelates, to obtain him a supply for the decoration of his own garments. He also issued a decree claiming the property of all churchmen dying intestate.

About the same time the emperor Frederick published a powerful appeal to the English nobles, successfully defending himself from the charge of heresy, and turning the tables upon their mutual oppressor. The king of France requested to become a mediator between them; but the Pontiff rejected all terms of peace, and affronted the peacemaker.

Innocent seemed to surrender himself to two influences,—the one, an intense hatred against the Emperor, the other, an insatiable covetousness of English treasure. Frederick contrived to hold his own, both in Italy and Germany. The opposition to papal extortions in England assumed such an aspect, that one of the cardinals, who must have been John of Toledo, described as of English race, and as having been a Cistercian monk, personally remonstrated with the Pope, and reminded him that in the present condition of the Church, with the Supreme Pontiff and the cardinals in exile, and with ill-feeling manifesting itself in Hungary, Germany, Spain, and France, it was not a time to drive the English into a revolt. But the Pope would not listen to reason; and Master John's counsel effected nothing for his compatriots.*

The king of England at one time resisted the papal demands, but his weakness was taken advantage of, and they became more intolerable.

In the year 1247 this tyranny had reached such a height, that a formidable conspiracy was entered into to take the Pope's life, as was alleged, at the instigation of his imperial opponent. The Pontiff caused himself to be guarded night and day, and apparently was so alarmed that he would not quit his chamber to perform mass. He published new bulls against the Emperor, accusing him of enormous crimes; and sent legates to the principal courts of Europe to defame him as much as possible. The Pope had caused first the landgrave of Thuringia, then the count of Holland, to be elected Emperor, and excom-

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1246.

municated Frederick and all his followers; but the spiritual weapons were found to be weaker than the temporal. The Emperor's son Conrad completely defeated the forces of the landgrave before he could be crowned, and he never recovered from the blow. At last the complaints of English churchmen against papal extortion were so far successful that his Holiness found himself obliged to promise the king, that when provision was made in England for the Pope's relatives or the cardinals, they should ask the royal permission before entering upon possession. This concession, however, as the chronicler states, was merely a hook with a bait upon it.*

As may well be imagined, the evils produced by the pontifical system fostered the growth of religious opinions more or less heterodox. In various parts of Europe a community would constantly come into notice, for professing a mode of life sanctioned neither by the practice nor precepts of the papal court. The most important of these sects were called Paterines or Bulgarians, who in time spread over Flanders and France, to an extent that greatly vexed the College of Cardinals, as well as the Pontiff. Matthew of Westminster, notwithstanding his free expressions against both, could not tolerate heresy in any shape, and with much complacency mentions the proceedings that were taken against the Paterines by a brother of the order of Preachers, by whom those who refused to be converted were made to breathe forth their miserable souls in the fire.

Other sects, called the Catheri and the Flagellants,

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1247.

who had flourished in Germany, Italy, and France, were destroyed by the sword.

The Sacred College were much troubled for several years with heretical notions respecting the Trinity, circulated principally by Peter Lombard, a French ecclesiastic. Pope Alexander had written letters to the archbishop of Sens to put down the heresy; Abbot Joachim had composed a volume abusing Peter as a heretic and a madman; and during the pontificates of Alexander, Lucius, Urban, Gregory, Clement, and Celestine, there continued to be discussions among the cardinals respecting the opinions of the bishop and the abbot. In the pontificate of Innocent III. a general council had been called at Rouen, that condemned Joachim's book.

The cardinals were also greatly troubled by the increase of a new sect in France and England, commonly called "Ribalds," but by themselves styled "Pastoureaux," who marched in great numbers strongly armed, not only preaching strange doctrines, but abusing the principal religious orders, and denouncing the papal court as heretics and schismatics. The Princes of the Church might have endured these poor creatures calling the bishops prodigals and money-hunters; they would not have interfered when the Black monks were stigmatized for their pride and gluttony; they were indifferent about the reproaches of such persons against the Cistercians for their acquisitiveness in the way of land; and did not care when the Minorites and Preachers were alluded to as vagrants and hypocrites; but a charge of heresy against cardinals was a serious matter, particularly when it was

known that a dissentient had got his head clove in two. The Pastors were excommunicated, an overwhelming force brought against them, and in a short time were dispersed or cut to pieces.

The merciless persecution of the Albigenses excited the indignation of many good Catholics, who blamed the papal court for exciting the war against them. William the Clerk, a Norman contemporary poet, in a poem entitled "Le Besant de Dieu," is very severe in his comments upon the ambition of the Pope and the oppression of his legates; nor does he affect any reserve in expressing his opinion of the authors of the persecution.*

The conduct of the higher ecclesiastical authorities in England became so flagrant in the disposal of benefices, that Innocent wrote to his nuncio, directing him to inquire into and put an end to alienations, sales, or purchases of church patronage, and to cause offenders in this direction to restore what they had irregularly obtained. A report was to be made to him in case they became contumacious. Brother John, of the Minorite order, was legate in England at this period, and full powers had been given him by the Pontiff, in the fourth year of his pontificate, not only to compel the prelates to respect this monition, but to cause them to compel the people as well as the clergy to contribute to the papal exchequer. They were also, on pain of excommunication, to treat

* "Quant Franceis vont sor Tolosains,
Qu'il tiennent à Publicains,
Et la legacie Romaine
Les i conduit et les i maine,

Brother John and his agents with due respect and liberality.

The Emperor was not crushed so completely as his enemy desired. With the assistance of his faithful adherents he contrived to make a stout resistance to the armies sent against him. The Pope's emperor was killed in 1247, and his successor did not gain much favour with any one. Still the papal court persevered in their efforts to destroy the house of Hohenstaufen, by exciting revolts and conspiracies against Frederick both in Germany and Italy, and by heaping on his head the most terrible accusations.

He wrote in his defence to his relative, the king of England, asserting his innocence, and accusing his priestly persecutors of having been led from their proper vocation by wantonness and a covetous spirit. He fought whenever his enemies would meet him, till the loss of his gallant and accomplished son Enzio, and increasing infirmities, destroyed his health. He died Dec. 13th, 1250.*

N'est mie bien, ce m'est avis;
Bons et mals sont en toz pais;
Et por çeo velt Deus qu'on atende,
Car mult li plaist que home amende."

* He had in the course of his career secured seven crowns—of the Roman Empire, Germany, Lombardy, Burgundy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Jerusalem. A short time before his death he had them placed before him. "I still posssess them all!" cried the hero, exultantly. "No pope shall deprive me of one of them!" He kept his word. His memory was cherished by the German race of subsequent generations; and his body seems to have been as tenderly cared for as his name, for on opening his tomb in the year 1781, the Emperor was found in his embroidered robes,

It has been stated that the cardinals had recommended to the Pope the policy of conciliation, especially with the emperor Frederick and his son Conrad, as the Church of Rome was on the eve of ruin. Conrad, however, was recovering from the effects of poison administered to him, as he alleged, by the Pope's connivance; and a similar attempt having once been made upon the life of his father, he was not inclined to listen to a proposal of marriage with one of the Pontiff's nieces. So strong was the feeling against the papal court among the partisans of the Emperor and his son, that travellers proceeding to it were stopped, plundered, and their papers torn. This had exasperated Innocent IV., who even thus early entertained the idea of depriving Conrad of his Italian possessions,—Apulia, Sicily, and Calabria, and selling them to the best bidder.

Owing to the hostility of the emperor Frederick, the Pope and his cardinals, including Cardinal John, led a wandering life, sometimes the court remaining at one city, sometimes in another. On the eve of their departure from Lyons, Cardinal Hugo, who had great influence with the Sacred College, at the Pontiff's request addressed a valedictory sermon to the inhabitants, in the course of which he stated that he had one subject of congratulation, in quitting a place where the pontifical court had effected much good, and bestowed large alms. There were some four or five brothels on their arrival; now

booted, spurred, and crowned, with a costly emerald on his finger, and the ball and sceptre in his hand.—Wolfgang Menzel.

there was only one; but that extended from the eastern to the western gate.* The Lyonnese were notorious for licentiousness; but this reproach on the chastity of the women was doubtless an exaggeration. Be this as it may, the cardinal's ironical congratulation passed into a proverb; and "the Lady of Lyons" of that generation remained under a cloud.

Bishop Grosstête continued his couree as a practical reformer, with a rare spirit of independence. In his own diocese his discipline was carried out without fear or favour. He obtained lay assistance for the superintendence of the secular business, that he might devote himself to his spiritual duties. He visited and explored all the remote nooks of monastic life, exposed every irregularity, and punished each offender; wherever he went declaring his opinion of the danger to which the Church was exposed by papal misgovernment. The commands he received to dispose of preferments in favour of unqualified persons, he refused to obey, giving reasons for so doing, and expostulating with the Pontiff for requiring him to do what was plainly detrimental to the true interests of the Apostolic Church.†

The vices of the papal court became so notorious in the middle of the thirteenth century, that many persons of influence had joined the Emperor in his opposition. The greatest complaints arose from their treatment of the Crusaders; for, having stirred up the devotion of much of the martial population

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1251.

† Neander does justice to the merits of this rare example of ecclesiastical virtue.

of Europe, including the king and people of England, the Pope and cardinals appeared to think only of turning it to profitable account for purely papal objects. Much odium was incurred by the Pope employing the Minorites and Preachers to collect money from all who desired to go to the Holy Land. Throughout Germany the Pontiff was extremely unpopular through the accusations of the late Emperor, while in England his reputation for greediness and tyranny made him as much detested as feared.

Pope Innocent did not exhibit his mercenary policy without remonstrance. The reforming bishop of Norwich, finding that a higher bidder for justice had been among the Princes of the Church, again crossed the Channel, and in an interview in open consistory, boldly declaimed against the deceit of which he had been made the victim. The Pontiff is reported to have defended himself with professions of integrity; then, with a severe countenance, he ventured to demand: "Is thine eye evil because I am good?" The assembled cardinals appeared to regard the English prelate as guilty of great presumption. Seeing the hopelessness of the case, he turned away with a sigh, murmuring, "O money, money! how prodigious is your influence! especially at the pontifical court!" The Pope overheard him, and retorted, "O ye English, worst of wretches, each would devour his neighbour and impoverish his companion!" The cardinals laughed, and the insulted bishop prudently said no more.*

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1250.

While Innocent was at Lyons, news arrived that the brother of the king of England, Richard, earl of Cornwall, was approaching on a visit to his Holiness. Immediately all the cardinals but one hurried out of the city to do him honour, for the fame of his wealth had spread far and wide. They found the English prince surrounded by a magnificent retinue, and accompanied him in a grand procession. His reception by the Pontiff was singularly cordial, and they were presently sitting together at table heartily enjoying a papal banquet; after which they conferred in private several times. Great secrecy was maintained—not the most attentive eavesdropper in the court being able to learn the subject of their conversation. It seems to have been a proposal from the Pope to secure for Earl Richard a certain government,* and he was feasted and flattered, in the expectation of his giving important pecuniary assistance in return.

Innocent IV. had endeavoured to check some of the most glaring of ecclesiastical abuses in Rome and elsewhere, by issuing a decree against the vexations inflicted by the prelates during visitations, and strove to enforce the canonical institutions regarding excess in the number of their carriages and attendants, the immoderateness of their repasts and other superfluities. He had also ordained that all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other dignitaries should be content with a supply of necessaries from each place visited, that should not exceed in value four marks in silver, if the allowance provided by the Lateran Council for saddle-

* The kingdom of Sicily.

horses and attendants could be made up by such sum. He decided that where there existed great fertility and abundance, there might be an increased charge; but should any excess be attempted, he threatened the prelate with having to refund.*

Cardinal John and the papal court, not without meeting with considerable difficulties on the way, reached Milan. The people received the Pope with every mark of respect and honour, but after a month the government brought him a claim to a large amount for expenses incurred in aid of the Church against the Emperor. Innocent did not appear to be taken by surprise or displeased; he praised the Milanese, and gave them many fair promises; dwelt pathetically on his losses, and made the principal citizens handsome presents; finally so won the good-will of the people, that they furnished him with a sufficient guard to enable him to reach Perugia, where he was welcomed with similar cordiality; not so much, the chronicler intimates, from devotion to his person, as from a knowledge that his presence would bring to the city a crowd of the religious of all nations, whose money would do good to trade.

Pope Innocent took up his abode in Perugia, and was so well pleased with the reception he met with from its citizens, that he elevated seven of their priests to the dignity of cardinal. No small share of the duty of these counsellors must have been directed to English affairs, and as it was a source of prodigious profit, this was not neglected. Henry III. was recommended to undertake a pilgrimage to the

* Matthew Paris, "Additamenta."

Holy Land, and the idea affording him a pretext for laying fresh exactions upon his subjects, it was readily adopted. This accord established, pontiff and king recommenced their extortions. It is impossible to describe adequately the shameful system of robbery that now prevailed in England; the papal agents thrust themselves into valuable preferments, and asked for and obtained everything that took their fancy. The court at Perugia secured a large portion of the spoil, but the most enriched were the persons entrusted with its collection.

In the summer of 1251, while the papal court was residing at Genoa, it was rendered more than usually gay by the efforts of the Pontiff to dispose of some of his nearest female relatives. He not only gave large sums of money with them, but presented them as peace offerings to powerful nobles, who had hitherto been excommunicated as enemies of the Church. The Count Tour du Pin and the Count Theobald of Savoy accepted these attractive terms of reconciliation, and there was in consequence much feasting and rejoicing among the cardinals; but Conrad had powerful supporters in Italy.

Though Innocent had made his name unpopular in England by bestowing English benefices on foreigners far in excess of the average, he was in special favour with the cardinals, having permitted them the privilege of wearing the scarlet hat, which has ever since been as well recognized a distinction as the dogeal cap or the pontifical tiara. With the Romans, or with Rome, the Pope was not on such good terms; for he maintained his court at Perugia, and though urgently entreated to return, did not

comply. At last a significant message that he must come now or never, produced the proper effect. Pope Innocent lost no time in taking up his old quarters. He was soon busy with a new scheme for raising money: he issued a mandate to the prelates to visit all monasteries, for the purpose of making them maintain their rules. Those who desired to be exempt from the visitation hastened to Rome, and by paying a good round sum secured what they wanted.

It was reputed among the cardinals that the kingdom of England was extremely rich, and that the king was singularly credulous. Innocent IV. had offered to obtain for him the provinces of Sicily and Apulia, on a large sum being sent to Rome. He was promised the aid of the Crusaders in gaining these valuable possessions; and the story was made so plausible that Henry III. could not help considering it a desirable government for his younger son, Edmund. The prospect at last became so alluring that the king collected all the funds he could, and begged and borrowed a great deal more to make up the price. This having been paid into the papal treasury, it was employed in recruiting soldiers.* Presently it was said to be

* A curious instance of the manner in which soldiers were enlisted and armed is given in a brief from King Henry to the sheriff. "The same sheriffs and knights shall cause them all to be sworn to arms, according to the quantity of their lands, and of their goods and chattels: to wit, men possessed of fifteen yard lands, shall have a suit of armour, an iron cap, a sword, a knife, and a horse; holders of ten yards of land, an habergeon, an iron cap, a sword, and a knife; of a hundred shillings' worth of land, a pourpoint, an iron cap, a sword, a lance, and a knife; of forty

exhausted, and more funds being demanded for defraying the expense of securing the promised Italian kingdom, Henry sent written authority to borrow what was needed.

Conrad, the reigning king of Sicily, had no intention of parting with any of his possessions; but Rome sought to overwhelm him with accusations and anathemas, and he died mysteriously in the midst of his preparations for resistance. The Pope seized Apulia, but the nobles of the country did not permit him to have peaceable possession. Though the cardinals had enticed nearly all the idle and dissolute in Italy to take service under the Pope by the most liberal offers, the enterprise they had undertaken became daily more difficult. The Crusaders would have nothing to do with it, and the king of England, who had permitted his son to be invested with a ring sent by the Pontiff, and declared him king of Apulia, had reason for doubting the good faith of the Roman court.

Innocent went further than merely censuring the worldly-minded churchmen who preferred the shortest road to wealth and influence; he decreed that no professor of secular law should have ecclesiastical preferment, unless versed in the liberal arts and meriting commendation for his moral habits. Moreover, as if to mark his repugnance to such

up to a hundred shillings' worth, a sword, a bow and arrows, and a knife; those who had less were to be sworn with scythes, axes with long handles, knives, and other rustic arms. Those possessed of chattels of sixty marks' value, of forty, of nine marks, or of forty shillings and upwards, were to be armed in the same manner." —Matthew Paris, "Additamenta."

pursuits in churchmen, he not only threatened the prelates if they disregarded this injunction, but absolutely forbade the study of secular law, at least in France, Spain, Hungary, England, Scotland, and Wales.*

This document was issued at Rome in the year 1254, but evidently overlooked the necessity of a similar decree against secular employments and worldly desires nearer home. The unsoundness of the heart was more dangerous than the disease of the extremities. A sense of the peril was betrayed in a prophecy then current of the advent of anti-christ full of the devil.†

Innocent IV. was much disturbed by the reform-

* Pope Innocent IV. did not mince the matter with ecclesiastical offenders in England; for his letter to the prelates commences with—"We observe with grief how much the formerly pious and holy seminary of clerks, forgetful of its original well doing, has fallen from the highest sanctity to the lowest depths of vice." This he attributes to their eagerness to devote themselves to the study of the law, instead of the Gospel. The Pontiff appears to have a poor opinion of these legal churchmen. "Most of all we grieve," he wrote, "that the students of philosophy, educated so tenderly in the bosom of the Church, diligently taught, and excellently trained, are obliged, through want of food and clothing, to avoid the presence of men, hiding here and there like owls; while these lawyers, or rather devils, clothed in purple and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, reflecting the dazzle of the sun in the glare of gold, the brilliancy of silver, and the sparkle of gems, and with their silken garments showing themselves not the servants of the Crucified, but heirs of Lucifer, make themselves a spectacle wherever they go, stirring up and incurring the indignation and odium of the laity against them, and, what is infinitely worse, against the Church."—Matthew Paris, "Additamenta."

† "Quum fuerint anni transacti mille ducenti,
Et quinquaginta, post partum Virginis Almæ,
Tunc Antichristus nascetur dæmone plenus."

ing spirit of Bishop Grosstête: he had even ventured on admonition. At last news arrived of his death. The Pope's excitement was now so great that it was said to have caused a dream, in which the threatened bishop, canonically robed and bearing his pastoral staff, appeared, and, not content with the expression of his indignation, poked the Pontiff in the side with his crosier so sharply that he woke half dead with fright and pain. Shortly afterwards he received a still more severe blow, in the total defeat of his army, commanded by the Cardinal William, who was so badly wounded that he died, despite the surgical skill of Cardinal Albo. From this period, we are assured that the Pope continued to have disturbed nights and days of ill health.*

The cardinals had again been forced to become birds of passage; for when the Pope had found a residence in his capital uncomfortable, through the disaffection of his subjects, he went from city to city, carrying his court with him. This by no means suited the Romans, who had profited by the resort of strangers to the Holy Father; and while he was at Assissi,† they sent a deputation bearing a remonstrance against his absenting himself from his post, plainly telling those who harboured him, that they would ruin them and their place, were he not speedily sent back. The people of Assissi were now so eager to get rid of their exalted guest, that the Pope was obliged to return. He was received honourably; but scarcely had he got to his palace,

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1254.

† It is stated by Matthew Paris that the same circumstance had occurred at Perugia.

when such a number of demands were made upon him, that the Pontiff, with the impression of having been caught in a trap, requested the interposition of the popular senator Brancaleone,* who contrived to stop the annoyance.

The condition of the Church of England under the rule of Archbishop Boniface was pitiable. Conscious of his high birth and influence over the king, his pride was only exceeded by his brutality. During a dispute with the canons of St. Bartholomew, he visited the priory in a violent rage, and having been remonstrated with by one of the elder brethren, he struck the old man on the face, head, and breast with his clenched fist, in the middle of the church; tore his rich mantle off his back, trampled it in the dust; and then crushed his body against the stalls with all his force. The canon was dreadfully hurt, and would have been killed, but for the interposition of some persons present. At the same time, the followers of the archbishop—like himself, clad in

* The civil authority of the city of Rome was vested in a Senator, who, when elected into that office, exercised an authority more popular and occasionally more powerful than that of the Pope. He was often a thorn in the side of the cardinals, as well as a restraint upon the inclination of the nobles to oppress the weak. There was a citizen of high character, who, Matthew Paris says, was a native of Boulogne, probably Bologna, named Brancaleone. He was requested to permit his nomination; but, knowing the intractable character of the Romans, declined, except on conditions that would secure the maintenance of his authority. They were accepted, and he in turn swore to rule the city justly. No sooner was he elected than he ordered some of the noblemen notorious for acts of violence to be hanged at the windows of their own castles, and consigned to the public gallows evil-doers who resisted his authority.—Matthew Paris, A.D. 1253.

armour—attacked the members of the unarmed community, and inflicted on them terrible injuries. The king, when appealed to, refused redress; all he cared about the Church was to get the richer bishoprics for his brothers, and plunder the revenues of others whenever he could find an opportunity.

While Boniface was archbishop of Canterbury, the Church of England was at the mercy of three rapacious plunderers,—himself, the king, and the Pope. He was constantly quarrelling with his suffragans, and causing them enormous expense in deputations to Rome. Henry III. allowed the country to be overrun with foreigners, from whose greediness the clergy suffered equally with the laity; indeed the Pontiff, it was computed, derived a revenue from England three times the amount of the royal income. Notwithstanding this, the papal court were constantly devising some new scheme for gaining more.* Earl Richard, the king's brother, was reputed to be immensely rich, therefore he had been flattered by papal attentions of every kind, and enticed to place his wealth at the disposition of the Pope, with the object of securing the provinces of Apulia, Sicily, and Calabria as a kingdom for himself.† Richard, however, did not suffer himself to be cajoled.

* That honest Benedictine Matthew Paris describes, in his Chronicle for the year 1252, the Pope and the king rivalling each other in fleecing the clergy and the people, till the country became impatient of both. The feeling against the Church of Rome grew more and more exasperated, anything like real devotion being out of the question.

† Matthew Paris states that this information came to him from the earl.

While the Pope and cardinals were in exile, they were invariably followed by English churchmen eagerly pressing some suit of their own. Bishops and abbots, who were at variance with their superiors or subordinates, came before them, and entreated their assistance. By judicious gifts they made friends, and hung about the court till they had obtained what they required. Disputes between prelates, brotherhoods, chapters, between priests and their diocesan, fraternities and their superior, and bishops and the king, seem to have been incessant. They were never discouraged by the papal court, because they evinced the dependence of the English Church upon the Pontiff, and because such disputes benefited the pontifical treasury. He who could pay most invariably got most.

One of the most patriotic of English prelates was Sewal, archbishop of York; and therefore specially singled out as a victim to papal oppression. A horde of Italian churchmen had by this time got possession of desirable benefices in the Anglican Church; and Rustand, the papal legate, exceeded his predecessors in insolence and rapacity. Alexander IV. inherited the extreme views of Innocent IV., and the plunder of England went on with increased activity. Archbishop Sewal strove to protect the fleeces of his flock, and got closely shorn for his pains. Papal vindictiveness was not satisfied with a money penalty; the worst punishment that could be inflicted on a churchman was accorded. Though a prelate of most meritorious life, he was excommunicated, as if he had been one of the worst of heresiarchs; the

natural result of which was that he was extremely popular among his countrymen.*

John of Toledo was created cardinal priest of San Lorenzo in Lucina by Innocent IV. in the year 1244. It has been stated that a John of Toledo was appointed to the dignity of archbishop, but was not the same person.† It is singular that there should be two churchmen bearing this title; but the pontifical annalists are constantly recording such elevations to persons of the same name. The long services of the English cardinal, and the many proofs he gave of zeal in the papal service, entitled him to such a recompense. There is in this instance the same confusion that exists in notices of most other English cardinals. Another authority includes him in another creation, as already stated. Perhaps he was appointed cardinal deacon by one pope, and cardinal priest by another. It is certain that he attached himself to the Papacy, and must have witnessed the operation of those influences which affected it during twenty years.

The papal court had set no bounds to the expression of their gratification when intelligence reached them of the death of the Emperor. Every cardinal regarded the event as a dispensation of Providence, and the Pope had said publicly, "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad." A career of territorial appropriation now opened upon the Church, and a pontifical decree was forwarded to Naples to intimate that the entire territory was incorporated with the Holy See. A declaration was

* Matthew Paris. † Ciaconius, I. 707.

also made public that the imperial family had forfeited their claims upon Apulia and Sicily; in short the Hohenstaufen were a proscribed race, against whose sovereignty every one was invited to rebel who was in any way subject to it. The Pope treated disdainfully an offer of Conrad IV., Frederick's eldest son, to submit to his authority. Conrad proceeded to Italy to maintain his rights, and shortly afterwards he and a younger brother died suddenly. On the anniversary of Frederick's death the Pope also died, December 7th, 1254.

The death of Innocent IV. took place at Naples. His relatives surrounded his couch, making dreadful demonstrations of their grief. The dying man, either impatient of the noise, or doubting the sincerity of their sorrow, exclaimed testily,—

"What are you crying for, you wretches? Don't I leave you all rich? What more do you want?"

Among those who were best acquainted with him, grave doubts appear to have been entertained of his claim to realize a state of blessedness. Not only were some of the cardinals uncertain on this point, but one is said to have had a vision of his Holiness as a dreadful sinner prostrate before the Virgin at the judgment-seat, and the Madonna having testified against him as an enemy of the Church, who had turned an institution established for the salvation of souls into a money-changer's table, he was condemned and hurried to his punishment. The sleeper awoke in a fright so terrible as to suggest the apprehension of a like fate for himself; for if popes could not escape damnation, there could be little security, he concluded, for cardinals. He went about

declaring his dream in a state of frenzy.* All the Princes of the Church were shocked, and the impression everywhere was unusually serious, but it does not appear to have produced any moral effect.

The nephew of Pope Gregory succeeded to the vacancy, and commenced his pontificate with the humblest professions. In his earliest communications to the princes of Christendom he strove hard to convince them that he was "the servant of the servants of God," the ordinary papal address. As Matthew Paris affirms, his simplicity was taken advantage of by the cardinals; he was induced to lend himself to the fraud which his predecessor had practised upon the king of England, and to carry on the war against the heir of the emperor Frederick. The belligerent conclave with English money assisted him in organizing an army of sixty thousand men, for whom a general was found in the person of Cardinal Octavian; and this force marched out of Rome to retrieve the disaster occasioned by the military incapacity of Cardinal William (Fiesco).

The new Pope, Alexander IV., soon showed himself quite as eager in the pursuit of money as any of his predecessors, and commenced operations in England on a most formidable scale. From the bishop of Winchester, for supporting him against the king, he obtained more than six thousand marks. Matthew of Westminster states with covert satire that the Holy Father, that he might not be accused of being disdainful, is said not to have refused one penny of the money.

Cardinal John ought to have been extremely

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1254.

edified by the glaring evidences of corruption that came under his observation during his close connection with the Papacy; but he must have been powerless to effect any improvement in its administration. His associates in the Sacred College were the passive instruments of the Pontiff, whose first care seemed always to be to increase his worldly power.

The cardinals did not prosper as military commandants. Cardinal William had led a papal army, and suffered a complete defeat, and Cardinal Octavian laid siege to the city of Nocera, when his forces were cut to pieces, and he only escaped by a hasty flight. Pope Alexander was sinking in public estimation, while his enemy, Manfred, a younger son of the Emperor, gained ground in Italy. He was growing daily more unpopular in Rome, and in England was thoroughly detested. Nevertheless he went on maintaining the same pretensions, thrusting foreigners into English benefices, and alternately deluding the king with promises of the kingdom of Apulia for his son, and threatening the country with an interdict unless his constant demands for money were satisfied. The king was no less unpopular with his subjects than the Pontiff, particularly for his lavish liberality to foreigners, and increasing exactions to satisfy them and the insatiate court of Rome.

The diplomatic correspondence between Rome and England at this period is singularly suggestive; the English proctors were kept in a state of constant activity, and the Roman advocates in a state of constant pay, the cardinals participating largely in the business, and of course in its emolu-

ments. Henry III. seems to have employed various persons to deal with them, who acted independently of, and sometimes in opposition to, each other. His excuse, perhaps, was the variety of subjects he was desirous of bringing before the Curia.

The cardinals appear to have been at feud with the senators. Brancaleone they seized and threw into prison. The aristocracy of Rome generally were thoroughly lawless and unprincipled, living in mansions that had the character of fortresses, and, believing in their security, committed every kind of outrage. Brancaleone had endeavoured to protect the people from the tyranny of the patricians, spiritual and temporal, and had won their hearts. Such conduct rendered him obnoxious to the Roman Princes of the Church and their kinsmen, and they had resolved on his destruction. This, however, they did not effect quite so easily as some of them had anticipated. The old spirit was not quite extinguished, the people were still Roman, and the oligarchy that oppressed them were presently to be taught a severe lesson.

An edifying illustration of the course of justice in Rome was a contest between two English ecclesiastics. An expelled prior of Winchester made his way to the Pope, and having settled on him an income of 365 marks of silver, went his way rejoicing. The bishop elect of the diocese was even more prodigal, and as a matter of course, much more fortunate; for he gained his cause, while the poor prior got little but the derision of the Romans.* The adage that allows mirth to

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1256. The prior received a manor.

those who win, seems to have been popular with the cardinals; but if they laughed in proportion to their gains, their hilarity ought to have been indecorous, frequent, and in excess. The adroit manner in which the king of England, as well as his subjects, were plundered in the great Apulian delusion, during the gravest professions of pontifical service, must have been highly diverting to the members of the Sacred College by whom the negotiation was conducted.

Cardinal John was disturbed in the performance of his ordinary ecclesiastical functions by the arrival in Rome of two deputations,—one from the university of Paris, consisting of its most accomplished scholars, one of whom was an Englishman, John de Gectaville, rhetorician of the university, and the other from the brethren of the Friars Preachers, a new mendicant order, as remarkable for their turbulence as for the extravagance of some of the doctrines they preached. Their conduct in Paris had become intolerable, and to save this pre-eminent school of philosophy from ruin, the professors had resolved on an appeal to the Pope. They met with more support in Rome than they had expected, as they were enabled to prove that these troublesome mendicants were in the habit of disturbing the faithful with opinions taken from a work condemned by a former pope. Notwithstanding the influence of their brother Cardinal Hugo de St. Cher, the writings of these friars were ordered to be burnt, and they were admonished to conduct themselves with more clerical decorum.

Some of the religious houses resisted papal extortion, and were excommunicated.

The arbitrary proceedings of the court of Rome about the middle of the thirteenth century were made manifest by the deprivation of an Englishman, Stephen of Lexington, abbot of Chairvaux, who had founded a school in Paris, and was not less eminent for his virtue than for his ability;—by its support of the bishops of Rochester and Ely, in opposition to the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence, it was believed, of the bishops' enormous bribes;—by its decree that every bishop and abbot elect should make a journey to Rome; by the excommunication of the archbishop of York; and by scores of similar acts equally indefensible.

Matthew Paris, in chronicling the events connected with the Church, strongly expresses his indignation at the cupidity that prevailed amongst the higher officials. At Rome a lavish expenditure could effect any object, however unjust; and in a large majority of cases wealthy ecclesiastics and civilians were obliged to travel there only to be pillaged. As the king was equally grasping, the Church of England fared badly between them.

It is evident that grievous complaints were made to the pontifical court of the operation of the civil power in matters ecclesiastical. In a long list of them, called "Articles, for which the bishops of England have been on the point of contending,"* it seems that the tribunals sometimes made short work of clerical offenders. "Clerks thus detected and taken, sometimes in their clerical robes, are hanged before they are or can be claimed by their ecclesiastical ordinaries." Such was the case at

* Matthew Paris, "Additamenta."

Oxford already cited, in which a priest killed a woman, when the course of justice was expedited by the knowledge that otherwise the criminal would escape punishment. It is clear from these articles that Henry III. and his officers were not disposed to allow churchmen to exercise their claim of being above the law.

The cardinals were moved by the pitiful representation of the English prelates touching the encroachments of the temporal power, and the Pope was induced to interpose his authority, which he did with true pontifical energy. "Whereas," he decreed, "the English Church, contrary not only to the laws of God and the canonical institutes, but also to the liberties granted to it by the kings, princes, and nobles of the kingdom, is wholly crushed by sacrilegious experiments, new invasions, odious concessions, and accursed acts of oppression, which cannot any longer be passed over in silence without the risk of destruction to the souls of the prelates, the king, and the peers, it has therefore been determined that the walls of the Church so shaken down shall be built up again."

After this preamble it is commanded that there shall be no interference of the temporal with the spiritual power, under the penalty of excommunication and interdict.

There is a letter extant from Pope Alexander that must have cost the cardinals entrusted with its composition no slight amount of labour and ingenuity. There are passages in it unrivalled as an appeal to patriotism: for instance, of England the writer says,—"From that kingdom have always come forth

Catholic kings, distinguished by bright titles of faith and devotion, who have at all times, and in many ways, shown themselves beloved by God on account of the merits of their holy life, and acceptable to the aforesaid Church by acts of humility and obedience. For the same Church has invariably received from it sons of blessedness and joy, some powerful in deeds and in reputation—*sons who also afford reasonable aid and favour.* This is that gracious, beautiful, and precious kingdom which the Lord hath blessed in all things. This kingdom is the pleasant and fertile field of devotion, by the protection and defence of which the aforesaid Church may meditate more attentively, and give its most zealous care, that the kingdom by sincere devotion may breathe forth the customary odours of purity, and by sound faith *yield due fruits of its constancy.**"

This is introductory to a still more clever and ingenious denial of the Pope and the cardinals of any responsibility in the failure of the negotiation respecting the Italian kingdom promised to the king's son, and the writer lays the blame on the king himself, but promises, if the debts of the Pontiff are paid in full, and he thereby relieved of the burdensome load that oppresses the Church, that the claims of Henry and his son in the matter shall be preferred to those of any one. He then agrees to suspend the interdict that had been laid upon this exemplary kingdom, and send a cardinal legate, should circumstances permit; that is, should the best of such exemplary kings satisfy these pecuniary claims.

* Matthew Paris, "Additamenta."

The king maintained his communications with the court, having, as was asserted, all the cardinals in his pay.

In or about the year 1257 he directs Cardinal Romanus,* formerly legate in England, to support his applications to the Pontiff,—in the following year he writes to Cardinal Octavian, of Santa Maria in Via Lata, to assure him that the proposal respecting the Sicilies is likely to be carried out by him, notwithstanding the opposition of his barons.† To Alexander IV. he appealed, 25th of September, 1259, against the proceedings of the nuncio, and on the 28th of December of the same year, announces his peace with France.‡ In this year also he directed Cardinal John, of St. Lorenzo in Lucina, to pay one of his advocates the arrears of his pension, and present him with a benefice.§ The following year he seems to awaken to a sense of his own privileges; for he tells the Pope not to encroach on his ecclesiastical preferments; and in another letter declines to receive his brother Ademar.‖

The disturbed state of Rome, in consequence of the impoverishment and oppression of the citizens, reached its climax in the year 1258. They rose in open revolt, headed by Matthew of Belvoir, an Englishman, broke open the prison in which the popular senator, Brancaleone, was confined, and having sworn allegiance to him, proceeded to attack their tyrants. The Pope finding resistance as well as excommunication in vain, fled in a panic to Viterbo, and Cardinal John and his associates, who

* "Royal and Historical Letters," ii. 122. † Ibid., 126.
‡ Ibid., 138, 143. § Ibid., 144. ‖ Ibid., 145, 150.

were equally objects of popular hostility, also consulted their safety by flight. It was time they quitted the city; for the stalwart Englishman and the now irresistible Brancaleone threatened death to both Pope and the Sacred College; and as evidence of their being in earnest, hanged two of the Annibaldi, kinsmen of one of the cardinals. The Eternal City was then left for a time to govern itself.*

The influence of England ought to have been great on the continent in the third quarter of the thirteenth century; for, in addition to the king's French dominions, his second son was, with the papal sanction, king of the two Sicilies; while his brother, Richard of Cornwall, in March, 1257, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, emperor of Germany; but the country profited little by these honours. Henry III. found he could not raise the whole of the purchase-money for the Italian kingdom, and it was again in the market; while the English emperor cared for nothing, except the application of his enormous wealth to his own advantage. The civil wars in England also weakened her foreign influence, and in the latter years of the king's protracted reign, Church and State seemed equally enfeebled by misgovernment. English intelligence, however, was conspicuous in the polemical warfare that raged at this epoch, carried on by Alexander Hales, and later by Duns Scotus, who deserve to be classed among the most eminent scholars of their age. Innumerable traces occur of English energy in foreign countries; no great political or religious

* Matthew Paris, A.D. 1258.

movement apparently could take place on the continent without an Englishman to help it forward.

English ecclesiastics still occasionally contrived to find their way to the highest preferment in foreign countries. Sometimes this must have been due to their intelligence; not unfrequently to merit of a different nature. John of Canterbury was elevated to the archbishopric of Rheims; but 10,000 livres Tournois distributed among the cardinals, were confidently stated to have been his recommendations.*

The multiplicity of the begging friars in England created as much inconvenience by their audacity as by their numbers, particularly the Preaching Friars and the Friars Minors. They collected large sums of money, a considerable portion of which they transmitted to Rome, where they made such powerful friends that they expected impunity for the greatest outrages. Some of the former order took forcible possession of a house in Dunstable; the Minorites about the same time seized another place at Bury St. Edmund's, and began making extensive alterations, to render it an imposing residence. They were protected by Cardinal Hugo, who was a brother of their order, and the owners of the property had no redress. Their conduct in several places excited discontent, which in Oxford more than once broke out into desperate conflicts.

The Roman court, Matthew Paris assures his readers, fell into disrepute in consequence of the nobles of Apulia having chosen for their king the Emperor's son Manfred, in defiance of the Pope, who

* Tillemont, iv. 410.

had promised it for Edmund, the son of the king of England. Henry III. made earnest complaints at his disappointment, and loss of money in paying the papal agents. The Pontiff and the cardinals were equally blamed for obtaining such large sums from England for a service they had no power to perform. It does not appear, however, that the king got back any of his money.

Rome still continued in a dreadful state, owing to the number of lawless people who had found refuge there. The conduct of the nobles at last became so intolerable, that in the movement recorded in a preceding page more than a hundred of their strongholds were forced and destroyed. On the return of the pontifical court the state of social disorder returned also.

The customary payments from England to the court of Rome had fallen into arrear, and an interdict, as well as a sentence of excommunication, was threatened; a general collection was therefore made, and the Pope's agents carried off a large sum. The Pontiff seemed now disposed to remedy a great abuse that existed in the Anglican Church; he commanded the archbishops and their suffragans to direct the removal from their preferments of every priest who maintained a concubine or otherwise disgraced his clerical character, and to put worthy persons in their places.

The papal pretensions came into antagonism with the royal prerogative in 1260, when the Pope bestowed a prebend, which the king gave to another. The dispute came before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, who decided in favour of the Holy See.

The judgment was unpopular, and created a commotion; when the papal nominee attempted to take possession of his appointment, a riot ensued, in which he and one of his followers were killed. The act shows the feelings excited in the public mind, exasperated by Romish exactions, by the constant appointment of foreigners to English benefices; for the guilty persons were never discovered.

England continued to be the great resource of the court of Rome when the pontifical exchequer was getting low, and on some pretence or other, demands were constantly made upon the clergy. In 1263, the difficulties of the expatriated emperor of Constantinople formed the plea, and two nuncios were sent to enforce a contribution; but they went back empty-handed, the necessities of their own sovereign being the excuse for non-compliance. The troubles into which the country was plunged by the civil war, that arrayed the whole kingdom in hostile armaments, ought to have secured both clergy and laity from such exactions; nevertheless the yoke was made to press heavily, the Pope now demanding money for the service of the promised kingdom, and insisting on other imposts to an extent that created the most bitter complaints against the oppression.

The acceptance by Henry III. of the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmund had become a source of profound dissatisfaction to the majority of his subjects; for the enormous cost of the empty title had to be defrayed by borrowing, by taxes, and by plunder. The country was now overwhelmed with debt, and the imposts were resisted by clergy and laity; but the greatest sufferers appear to have

been the rich Jews. They were hunted up in every considerable town in England that had afforded them a fair field for their enterprise, and by arguments as little creditable as those employed in the time of John, were forced to contribute to satisfy the demands of the Pope to help him to wage war against Conrad and Manfred. Having got a moiety of the purchase-money, the vendor now offered the kingdom to Charles of Anjou, brother of the king of France.

"The Provisions of Oxford" were wrung from Henry III. by parliamentary pressure, and he was very desirous of getting rid of his obligations to respect them, which could only be accomplished by the intervention of a papal bull. This, however, was not forthcoming till sufficiently solid reasons for its being granted had been given by the proctors of the king of England. It was at last conceded by the Pope, by a bull dated at Viterbo, 7th of May, 1261. It not only absolved Henry from his oath to observe the Provisions, but directed the archbishop of Canterbury to place the estates of the barons who endeavoured to maintain them, under interdict. This unsatisfactory instrument gave a new impulse to the national feeling, and rendered the papal as well as the regal authority unpopular in the country.

The Anglican Church had already taken its line, for the prelates had pronounced sentence of excommunication against all who should infringe the Oxford statutes; the laity were, as during the tyranny of Innocent III., directed by the clergy, and were equally determined in their opposition; and a serious conflict seemed inevitable. Presently, arbitration

was suggested; it met with no result, till Richard, king of the Romans, was appealed to, who decided in favour of the king. The principal point at issue appears to have been the choice of sheriffs, which now became the exclusive prerogative of the Crown.

In the year 1261 Alexander IV. died, and the conclave assembled to elect his successor. At the elevation of Urban IV. (James Pantaleon, patriarch of Jerusalem, son of a shoemaker), there were but eight cardinals in the college; one was an Englishman,—"John of Toledo;" but the small community was soon increased, and the ex-patriarch, who was as much of a Greek in his nature as in his title, exercised much policy, more subtle than honest, in endeavouring to maintain the unimpaired action of the Papacy against the formidable evils with which it was threatened. War seemed the chronic state of Italy, and the Pontiff was almost sure to be involved in it; but the strife probably had never been hotter or more general than at present—Guelphs against Ghibellines, city against city, and nobles against the people; but the Sicilies, in consequence of papal intrigues, rarely enjoyed the blessings of peace.

During the pontificate of Urban IV., Cardinal John was much occupied with the appeals made to Rome by Henry III. and his discontented barons. When the former had signed a treaty, the provisions of which he desired to evade, he despatched a messenger to Rome, to get a release from his obligation. The nobles then sent a deputation complaining of the multitude of foreigners who were permitted to impoverish the kingdom, and made out an equally

strong case of grievance. The court of Rome, apparently, took large retainers from both parties, and gave judgment, striving to satisfy each. The king got his request complied with; while the barons carried matters with so high a hand, that their expulsion of the intruding Piotevins was not in the slightest degree interfered with.*

According to Cardella,† it was in the year 1261 that Urban created John of Toledo cardinal priest of St. Lorenzo in Lucina, and, like his predecessors, this pontiff furnished him with ample employment.

One of the most illustrative communications from Rome to England is that of John of Hemingford to the king, written in September, 1261, in which he announces the election of the patriarch of Jerusalem as pope; describes the favourable impression created by their first interview, and how it faded on a second and third. He informs Henry that the new pope had made him aware that the king of England had another proctor at Rome, who was requiring things totally different to those for which he was soliciting; and he wants a royal letter revoking all other agencies, urging despatch, as English magnates were actively employed against him in the court at Viterbo.‡

Roger Lovel, a royal proctor, writes to the king in February, 1262, announcing a creation of cardi-

* Matthew Paris, "Continuation," 1261.

† "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali." At the election of Urban there were but eight cardinals, John of Toledo being one. The new pontiff increased their number by fourteen.

‡ "Royal and Historical Letters," ii. 188.

nals by the Pope; that Richard, bishop of Chichester, had been canonized; that Manfred had sent envoys; and that John Mansel, the chancellor in England, has secured for him a full release from his obligations.*

Roger Lovel wrote again to his royal master in May of the same year, announcing the successful result of his agency. Urban IV. had been persuaded to support the king of England against the national party, by annulling his solemn engagements with them. It is evident from these communications that this pontiff was as ready as his predecessor had been to assist in quelling the patriotic spirit against which Henry III. had been so long contending,—a spirit which was as manifest in clergy as in laity, notwithstanding papal endeavours to extinguish it. The conflict could not go on long without exciting some action at the universities. An irritation became manifest at these unjust papal interferences, and discussions respecting them not unfrequently led to other inquiries more deeply affecting the papal system.

At the papal court the conflict of English interests continued to proceed with increased ardour. The royal proctors were directed to ask for more favourable concessions to the king, and in 1262 a bull was obtained to annul all the acts of the patriotic council of four-and-twenty barons that had for a time, under the earl of Gloucester, directed the policy of the nation. It is clear that Henry had not always had it all his own way with the cardinals, for he wrote to his agent, Roger Lovel,† to prevent any opposition there,

* "Royal and Historical Letters," ii. 204. † Ibid., 207.

the patriotic party having friends amongst them, as well as himself. The bull did not prevent another civil conflict in England in the following year.

In March, 1262, Henry III. wrote to Urban IV. a letter of congratulation on his accession to the chair of St. Peter; in May, to Hemingford and Lovel, urging them to prevent any hostile action against him in the papal court by his discontented subjects.* This court evidently continued open to all suitors; and the king, aware of the venality of the tribunal, as well as of the weakness of his own cause, seemed always in a state of apprehension that justice might triumph.

In the following year there was another papal legate sent to England,—Ugo Falcodi, cardinal of St. Sabina, to coerce the patriots, lay and clerical, as well as to annul the Oxford Provisions, and oppress their supporters; but such a commotion was raised against the approaching legate, that he was obliged to halt at Boulogne, and there fulminate his interdicts and excommunications.

The pontificate of Urban ceased in October, 1264, and the rejected cardinal legate was elected pope as Clement IV. He entered upon his duties with a strong prejudice against the party in England who had rendered his legatine authority inoperative. Cardinal Ottoboni was now sent as legate, with instructions to deal in the harshest manner with the malcontents, particularly the ecclesiastics. A crusade was to be preached against the leaders, and every effort made to crush them as rebels. At this crisis the popular leader Simon de Montford fell at the

* "Royal and Historical Letters," ii. 206-9.

battle of Evesham, and his countrymen mourned him as a hero who had died in a struggle for their liberties. Subsequently they mourned him as a martyr and a saint.

It was on the 20th of October, 1265, the new cardinal legate made his public appearance in Westminster, and in his robes pronounced in the abbey church the papal doom against the survivors of Simon de Montford's party; after which, with the assistance of those in power, he resumed the old system of papal aggression and extortion. Aliens were again thrust into English benefices, and the work of plunder went merrily on—for the papal party. Presently, as usual, the English spirit reasserted itself; there was a patriotic reaction of so formidable a nature, that at one time the cardinal legate desired to be recalled; but the movement was circumscribed, and wanted a De Montford. Cardinal Ottoboni took heart, and, assisted by a subservient king and a servile court, at an assembly held at St. Paul's, April 21st, 1268, passed constitutions for the government of Church and State, that should supersede all authority whatever. They were to establish the subordination of the laity to the clergy, and the exemption of the latter from taxation by the State. Priests, however, were not to bear arms, nor to hold pluralities without dispensation, nor to marry.

The assassinations, the poisonings, the butcheries that disgraced the merciless conflict of opposing factions, produced at last a reactionary feeling in some communities, under the influence of which many made a public profession of penitence.

The new sect, called Flagellants, appeared in robes of the coarsest sackcloth, inflicting on themselves the most cruel discipline, and making doleful lamentations as they passed through the streets, wounding themselves at every blow of a heavy scourge. Fortunately for the English members of the Sacred College, the cardinals were not expected to join in the edifying spectacle; and neither Alexander IV., Urban IV., nor Clement V. appeared to have any ambition for distinction in this direction. Italy was doomed to remain a battlefield, for the French were called in to oppose the imperial pretensions of Manfred, till that heroic prince fell at the decisive battle of Benevento, 25th of February, 1266, and by the execution of his kinsman Conradin, two years later, the Hohenstaufens were crushed.

It was while the clergy were notoriously guilty of all kinds of irregularity that the Papacy put in force a restrictive system—not against these outrages on their holy profession, but against religious opinion at variance with what was taught at Rome. An institution called "The Inquisition" was established in the thirteenth century, by which persecution was carried on upon a plan that seemed to have originated among brutalized savages rather than with professors of Christianity. The idea was to force, by means of the most acute physical suffering, confessions from persons suspected of entertaining heterodox opinions, and on such testimony to condemn the sufferer by a secret tribunal to perish in the flames.

The atrocities committed in this way, in the name of the tenderly loving Jesus, in several places raised

a spirit of resistance that was fatal to some of the inquisitors; but the diffusion of convictions opposed to the tenets of the Church of Rome appears to have filled the hearts of the more bigoted churchmen with a frantic cruelty, that would stop at no outrage upon humanity in their efforts to crush them. In France and Spain the Inquisition flourished, contemporaneously with dreadful massacres of entire populations, whose only crime was the profession of a purer faith than that the dominant Church had taught them. We shudder at the ferocious frenzy that produced such acts, and the good Catholic now is convinced that such means of repression were a wretched mistake. There is little doubt that instead of creating unity of opinion, it produced in many parts of Europe a settled conviction of the anti-Christian character of the papal system.

Clement IV. died in 1268, and the chair of St. Peter remained vacant for two years. An Englishman was present; but Italian jealousy ignored his merit, and an Italian was preferred. The conflict appears to have been between the Frenchmen and Italians, of which the first were in the majority: they could only be brought to agree to the exclusion of the Englishman. The choice at last fell upon a person who was not a cardinal; but he united the interests of both nationalities; for though Italian by birth, he was a French priest. He had been a canon at Lyons, and archdeacon of Liége; but was absent on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The pilgrim was elected pope.

Gregory X., the title he assumed at the council of

Lyons, May, 1274, made fresh regulations respecting the duty of the cardinals on the demise of a pontiff. The election was to be exclusively in their hands, and ten days after the vacancy had occurred they were to be kept in one chamber of the palace, without waiting the arrival of absent members of the college, and there they were to live together, refraining from communication of any kind with any one, with only one domestic each; and their meals were to be given them through a narrow window. After an interval of three days, their decision was to be stimulated by lessening their provisions; in five days they were to be reduced to a single meal a day; after that they must live upon wine and water. All who infringed these statutes were to be excommunicated, as well as deprived of their benefices and possessions, and of every chance of promotion.*

Cardinal John continued to give active assistance in the administration of the Papacy, and devoted himself to good works. He founded a monastery at Viterbo.† He survived till 1274, dying during the second council at Lyons, having lived through the pontificates of Alexander, Urban, Clement IV., to that of Gregory X. Ciaconius quotes the following:—

"Totq. sacerdotes genuisti Sabaudia, primum
Dicitur Hugonem, qui Jacobita fuit,
Alter, quem fouvit Cistercius ordo, Joannes
Nomine, natalis Angliæ terra sibi."

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* Tamagna, "Origine e Prerogative dei Cardinali."
† Cardella, "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali."

CHAPTER IV.

ROBERT KILWARDBY, CARDINAL BISHOP.

A Dominican Provincial—Dispute at Canterbury—Gregory X. nominates Kilwardby Archbishop—Second Council of Lyons—the Pope's Emperor—Papal Extortion—Franciscans and Dominicans—the Primate and the Black Friars—Kilwardby created a Cardinal Bishop—is summoned to Rome—his Mysterious Death—Rival Intrigues in the College of Cardinals—Election of the Hermit Pedro Morrone—a Saint makes a bad Pope—his Resignation—Exactions of Pope Boniface in England—Doubtful Cardinals.

THE surname of one English cardinal, as already shown, created many forms of spelling it; but that of another Robert has at least equalled its varied orthography. This is Robert Kilwardby, whom the scribes have made Kildewardely, Kiglwardby, Kildwardby, Kilwarby, de Kilwardby, and Chiluuardebeies. How he came by the original appellation is not known; of his birth and parentage there is as little information. The first trace of him appears at Oxford, where he commenced his studies, somewhere about the termination of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Thence, in the usual course, he proceeded to Paris, where he fraternized with the Dominicans, an order of Black Friars, established there as well as in different parts of England. They had been encouraged by Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, on their first

landing in this country, and had since then greatly multiplied. They had an establishment at Oxford, to which Kilwardby repaired at the suggestion of some of the brothers in Paris, and pursued his theological studies with the intention of entering the order, and dedicating himself to a holy life. He studied the Scriptures, he studied the Fathers, and having, from other theological sources, made himself sufficiently advanced in such learning, was able to obtain a doctor's degree, and then to devote himself to the profession of a teacher. He had several pupils,—among them Thomas de Cantelupe, who enjoys the distinction of having been the last Englishman admitted into the calendar of saints.* If he got on well with his pupils, he got on better with the brotherhood; for they so highly appreciated his learning and his piety that they elected him their provincial.

Kilwardby was not, however, to remain a Black Friar, or a servant of Black Friars. They had contrived to make themselves popular in England, while the papal influence was declining; their modest way of life and sympathy with the poorer classes of the people contrasting favourably with the luxury and pride of the richer religious communities. But having accepted his vocation, Robert soon saw where he was to look for further ad-

* He was the son of William Lord Cantelupe, and not only procured for himself many valuable preferments in the Church, culminating in the bishopric of Hereford, but became the king's chancellor, as well as chancellor of the university of Oxford.—(Anthony Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 221.) In compliment to him, it is said that his coat of arms was adopted by succeeding bishops.

vancement, and his devotion to the interests of the Holy See was rewarded with the post of collector of the papal impositions.

His prudent conduct procured him influential friends, and an opportunity presented itself in which their good offices were of extraordinary service to him. Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 18th of June, 1270, and the monks of Canterbury, who seemed to be always in a hurry to exercise what they considered to be their privileges, selected their prior, Adam de Chillendene. The young king, Edward I., however, determined on filling the vacancy with that able scholar and statesman, Robert Burnell, heretofore his chancellor. The monks insisting on their rights, proceeded to carry out the election in the legal form, but were interrupted by the king, who forced his way through all obstructions and commanded them to elect Burnell. They excusing themselves on the plea that their choice had been inspired by the Holy Ghost, he quitted them in anger. They then formally elected their prior.

As had often been the case before, the dispute between the ecclesiastical and monarchical power was carried to Rome for adjustment. Adam de Chillendene paid the sum of three thousand marks, and thought himself safe. The king of England was a personal friend of the Pontiff, and therefore felt certain that his chancellor was safe. Gregory X. was desirous of conferring particular favour on the Dominican order; and as his collector in England had given evidence of zeal in the service of the Holy See, he was considered the

most reliable person to have at the head of the Anglican Church. This policy was carried out; the prior had to withdraw his pretensions, but met with the very greatest difficulty in withdrawing his marks; indeed, he was obliged to be content with thirteen hundred, and these had to be paid by his successful rival.

On the 26th of February, 1273, Robert Kilwardby was consecrated by the bishop of Bath, and the suffragans of the see, archbishop of Canterbury. Under every distinguishing black frock of the mendicant friars a human heart bounded with pride at this compliment to their order. Henceforth the Dominicans were, they thought, to be the most favoured fraternity in England, and naturally they looked for support to the possessor of extraordinary influence in the Roman as well as in the Anglican Church. They thronged to do honour to their brother, exalted over them to so high an elevation, and mutual congratulations were exchanged, with mutual assurances of goodwill.

In August of the following year the archbishop was called to London to crown the king and queen, and very grand was their coronation. There was a magnificent spectacle; there was a prodigal feast; the festivities lasted a fortnight; the citizens entertaining all comers, and the conduits flowing with wine. As the primate passed through the joyous population, his chaplains scattered a liberal largess, which did not lessen his claims to popularity.

The mendicant orders that had been introduced or encouraged in England by at least two English cardinals, in a short time acquired extraordinary

social influence wherever they penetrated. Nothing could exceed their religious zeal except the spirit of enterprise by which it was directed. They multiplied to such an extent, and were so active in their calling, as to interfere greatly with the operations of the regular clergy. They also thrust themselves into prominent positions as teachers as well as preachers, till the university professor found them as troublesome as they were to the parish priest. They were therefore more than once complained of by both, and occasionally denounced as hypocrites as well as meddlers. Nevertheless they contrived to make themselves so useful in the papal cause, and acquired such influence at Rome, that in England, as well as elsewhere, they flourished more and more.

They were defended by eloquent preachers and writers,—by Bonaventura, by Thomas Aquinas, and Albertus Magnus; one of the arguments employed in their favour being the vice and incompetence of the parochial clergy. A great doctor of theology in Paris, called William of St. Amour, attacked them in uncompromising language, denouncing them as the precursors of anti-Christ; and a fierce dispute soon raged in the religious world as to their character and value.

The power of these mendicants continued on the increase; indeed so prodigious was their influence that the great doctor who had ventured to attack them was forced to leave the university. In the words of the famous "Roman de la Rose,"—

> "Ou estre banny du royaume
> A tort, comme fut Maitre Guillaume
> De St. Amour, que ypocrisie
> Fist exilier par grant envie."

The mendicant friars entered houses, and soon made themselves at home. They exercised as much domestic as spiritual influence, and became guardians of the property of the inmates—not unfrequently heirs. They dictated wills; they officiated at marriages and funerals; they baptized the infants, and taught the children. They found begging, under such circumstances, a thriving trade. Pretending to have special qualifications for leading the way to Paradise, no professing Christian would dare to refuse a contribution to the fund his guide was collecting for the wants of his monastery.

This close connection with the affairs of the world produced evils that caused occasional scandal. The friars contrived, however, to find countenance in quarters where it was expected that they would meet punishment. In a conference respecting them, in which the primate and his suffragans took part, it was asked if, after so much preaching to the people, the world was so little improved, what could be the good of them? The archbishop is said to have replied to the effect that the world would have been a great deal worse than it was, but for their sermons.* The writer who states this, does not, however, fail to caution his clients against preaching at markets and fairs, and other places devoted to worldly occupations. He tells them not to affect to be philosophers; to eschew prolixity and repetitions, and especially to avoid a display of fine words. The latter abuse he

* Humbert de Romanis, "De Eruditione Prædicatorum"—"Bibliotheca Patrum," xxv.

likens to a desire of making at a feast a show of splendid dishes, containing little worth eating.

If these were the worst faults of the mendicant friars, they might have been tolerated. It must, in justice to them, be allowed that in their orders were found gifted preachers, and scholars of extensive learning; and that Robert Kilwardby had several contemporaries among the followers of Dominic and Francis, equally worthy of the high station to which he was promoted. Notwithstanding their vow of poverty, and the general severity of their rules, it was not long before signs of indulgence began to manifest themselves in their houses and way of living. Even Bonaventura, president of one of these orders, though he had eloquently defended his brethren when attacked, was aware that at least some of the charges brought against them were not groundless; for in a subsequent circular letter addressed to the principal officers of the Franciscans, he refers to the existence amongst the fraternity of cupidity and greed, and of there being one state of things inside the monastery and a very different one outside.

The publicity given to the quarrel produced remarkable effects upon the laity. In many quarters it awakened a spirit of inquiry, and under favourable circumstances, a desire to study the Scriptures. This created sects in Germany and France. The antipapal feeling in England, increased by the conduct of the successor to Archbishop Kilwardby, shortly afterwards took a similar shape.

The monks of Canterbury did not regard the Black Friars with very amiable feelings, and could

not readily reconcile themselves to one of those mendicants becoming primate of all England. In the year 1276 they came into collision. The citizens of Canterbury had been taxed to provide twelve horsemen, and required that the wealthy chapter and the well-to-do monks of Christchurch should contribute liberally. They, however, refused, declaring that they were exempt. An indignation meeting was held close to the Dominican church, where resolutions were passed of a very menacing character. The archbishop interposed, and brought the belligerents to an amicable settlement.

In the same year the primate, accompanied by all his prelates, crossed the Channel to attend a grand council, convened by Gregory X. to meet at Lyons. In this assembly were fourteen cardinals, with ambassadors from all the Christian states, including Michael Palæologus, then emperor at Constantinople; but his representatives appeared later. There were also present the king of Arragon and the most distinguished scholars and divines in Europe—among them the famous Bonaventura, general of the Franciscans and bishop of Albano. "The Seraphic Doctor," as he was styled, died in harness; for his death took place this year, while engaged in forwarding the Pope's interests at the council.

The archbishop of Canterbury could not be an unconcerned spectator of the proceedings of so remarkable an ecclesiastical assembly, particularly in the attempt then made for a coalition of the Greek and Roman Churches; but greatly was he concerned when the news reached him that Thomas

Aquinas, the glory of the Dominicans, had been seized with a fatal fever, while on his way to join the council.

In the autumn of the same year the primate held a visitation in his diocese at Winchester, at the priory of St. Swithin, then in the abbey of the nuns of the Blessed Virgin, and in the monastery at Hyde; subsequently he kept his Christmas at one of the manors of Nicholas, bishop of Winchester, a prelate of almost boundless hospitality.

The cardinals were summoned to assemble at Lausanne for a grand and jubilant ceremonial. Pope Gregory X. had contrived to make the minor German potentates unite with him in the election of an emperor, and in consequence Rodolph of Hapsburg had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1273. He was a mere military adventurer, and promised to be the Pope's vassal. The Sacred College appear to have had more than enough of German emperors, and instead of inviting Rodolph to come to Italy for investiture, it was judged most expedient to have the ceremony performed at a safe distance. The Emperor attended, very humbly went through the customary ceremonies, and edified the cardinals by the intensity of his respect. The Pope detested the Germans.*

The papal rule appeared to have reached its culminating point when the larger elements of the imperial power had been divided and conquered. The great vassals of the empire had easily been

* His sentiments were shared by his successor Martin IV., who delared that he wished Germany were a fishpond, and he a pike to swallow the fish.

made subordinate, and all princes were warned that St. Peter had left two swords,—one to maintain the spiritual, the other the temporal rights of the Church. The reigning Pope was master of everything, and in ecclesiastical affairs was exclusive judge and ruler. He had been satisfied with claiming the right of inducting to bishoprics whenever a prelate died within two days' journey of Rome,—a frequent occurrence; now he asserted the right of nomination in all cases, and created bishops who had no sees, merely nominal ones, *in partibus infidelium.* Moreover, he levied taxes wherever he chose, and to any amount he thought he could obtain. He caused the property of deceased bishops dying without wills to be seized for his use, and sold their dignities to the highest bidder, or gave them to the most servile of his dependents. In addition, he exercised at his own pleasure such spiritual weapons as *excommunication,* or exclusion from the Apostolic Church; *the ban,* outlawry, and death; and the *interdict,* the deprivation of the country of an offender of the consolations of religion.

The superiority of the clergy over the laity was established by giving the former the exclusive use of the chalice in the administration of the most sacred of religious rites, whilst the dependence of the laity on the clergy was maintained by the necessity of the first securing ceremonies that commenced at birth, and did not end in the grave. Festivals multiplied, pilgrimages became a more frequent duty, the adoration of saints, and the veneration due to their relics, were insisted on, and penances were made more stringent and imperative. The rosary was

introduced to assist the sinner in the repetition of prayers, and the efficacy of gifts to the Church to secure eternal salvation became a fixed article of faith.

Religious orders were constantly on the increase; every one being expected to exist in strict subordination to the Roman court, and wherever they were established, to form fortresses for the maintenance of the pontifical authority. It not unfrequently happened that large religious establishments, when unduly taxed or arbitrarily interfered with, became contumacious; but a summons to appear at Rome, and a heavy pecuniary penalty on the abbot, generally produced obedience. The Pope and cardinals were supported by a revenue to which foreign prelates were invited to contribute largely. The expenses of the state machinery of the Church often necessitated much personal sacrifice on all who helped to maintain it; and this outlay becoming more and more extravagant, the papal officials became more and more exacting.

The court of Rome was much disturbed, near the middle of the thirteenth century, by a dispute between two influential brotherhoods,—the Franciscans and Dominicans. Many members of the former order inveighed against the luxury prevailing amongst the hierarchy, which had excited Innocent IV. to declare against them. The monks would not be put down, and increased in the severity of their denunciations of prelatical pride and extravagance. Several were punished with death; but their opinions were caught up by scholars and philosophers, long after their ashes had been scattered to the winds. On the other hand, the subserviency of the Domini-

cans was recognized by the Pontiff, and they were entrusted with the direction of the Inquisition, which permitted them the satisfaction of burning the troublesome members of the rival fraternity.

In the year 1276, the primate was busily engaged in an important service to his order, which has since given a name to a very populous portion of the city of London. Stow says that "Gregory Roksley, mayor, and the barons of this city, granted and gave to Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, two lanes or ways next the street of Baynard's Castle, and also the tower of Mountfitchit, to be destroyed; in place of which the said Robert built the late new church of the Black Friars, and planted them there. King Edward I. and Eleanor his wife were great benefactors thereunto. This was a large church, and richly furnished with ornaments, wherein divers parliaments and other great meetings hath been holden." *

The structure was a magnificent one for the time, and a great contrast to the brotherhood's previous lodging in Holborn. The archbishop, assisted by the young king and queen, endowed it so liberally, that the mendicants found themselves quite as handsomely provided for as some of the elder monasteries, the inmates of which had hitherto looked down upon them.

In the month of March, 1276, he visited the university of Oxford, where he preached a public sermon; then entering the schools, carried on controversies in theology, philosophy, and logic, to the great admiration of the scholars. He condemned certain unsound opinions, and promulgated a reso-

* "Survey of London," 1603.

lution, that whoever defended any of them should, if a master, be deprived of his degree; if a bachelor, be expelled the university.

On the 16th of June the primate visited Chichester, with all his clergy, for the purpose of making as impressive as possible the translation of Richard de la Wych, a former bishop of Winchester, so renowned for his virtues and his hospitality, that he had been canonized by the Pope, with the title of St. Richard of Chichester. This was almost as grand as the ceremonial of the same kind in honour of Thomas Becket; the shrine, however, here was silver-gilt. There was an altar erected for the devotions likely to be offered to the new saint. The king was a visitor; he presented four large gold brooches to the shrine, and directed a payment of £200 to the bishop's executors.

The archbishop's services were again recognized at Rome. Nicholas III. succeeded Gregory X., and in 1278 created Robert Kilwardby cardinal bishop of Portus. This elevation induced him to resign his archiepiscopate and betake himself to the Holy See. He did not go empty-handed; he took with him the sum of five thousand marks—for what purpose does not appear; all that is known is, that within a few months of his quitting England he died suddenly at Viterbo, under suspicious circumstances. In Italy such deaths had become common; and the popes had lately been following each other to the tomb with singular rapidity. The five thousand marks disappeared in the insatiable maelstrom that had swallowed an incalculable amount of good English coin.

Matthew of Westminster contents himself with stating that the archbishop was summoned to Rome to become a cardinal. It looks as if he had been enticed to give up his position as head of the Anglican Church in favour of a person who held the office of Auditor Causarum at Rome—John Peckham, who proved himself in all things a mere servant of the Pope. He was a Franciscan, and the order had an establishment at Oxford, opposite that of the Dominicans, where Kilwardby had resided after quitting Paris. This brotherhood regarded the Black Friars with hostility, which displayed itself in bitter feuds. The removal of a monk of one order to make way for a monk of another looks like the result of an intrigue. Kilwardby's mysterious death was a natural conclusion to it, among men notoriously the most reckless in pursuit of gain to be found in Christendom. The funds said to have been collected for carrying on the buildings for the Dominicans in London, which the archbishop carried with him to Rome, of course never reached them. Whether the Franciscans had any part of them is not known.

In this year, according to the Chronicle of Thomas Wikes, the archbishop was created a cardinal bishop; in the following year the same chronicler records his death.*

Roberto Kilvarbio, according to Cardella †—cognomento Biliberi, according to Ciaconius—is said to have received several employments from Nicholas III. The warmest eulogiums are passed on him by the pontifical writers for his attainments in philosophy

* "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores," ii. 106-9.

† "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali," ii. 13.

and theology. A list of his works is given in Ciaconius, who, in reference to their author, merely states that he died in 1280, at Viterbo.

They consist of Latin dissertations on dialectics, on some branches of natural philosophy, as well as commentaries on certain books of the Old and New Testament, and on some of the earlier writers of the Church.*

The condition of Rome continued to become more unsatisfactory every year. In February, 1288, Brother Jerome, a Minor Friar, who had been made a cardinal, was elected pope, and assumed the title of Nicholas IV. He is reputed to have been a good Greek and Latin scholar. The order to which he belonged had originally come forward with the humblest pretensions. They were content with the title of "Lesser Friars"—inferior to other monks; but now, having one of their brethren pope of Rome, and having had another archbishop of Canterbury, whom they regarded as the sun and moon of their planetary system, they assumed airs of importance, and considered themselves superior to all other denominations, conventual or otherwise. Matthew of Westminster, as a Benedictine, looked on them as upstarts, and in no measured terms censures them for their audacity and pride. This, however, was not of long continuance, for the Pope and primate died within a short interval.

Towards the close of the century the Sacred College was again disturbed by rival intrigues. When Nicholas IV. died, on the 4th of April, 1292, there

* Thomas Tanner, bishop of St. Asaph, has preserved a list of them. See his "Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica."

appears to have been no Englishman in the conclave. There were but twelve cardinals—all Italians, except two, who were Frenchmen: of this majority, six were Romans; and so completely had the Papacy become a local institution, that the six were divided into two factions, one supporting an Orsini, of whom there were two; the other a Colonna, of whom there were the same number in the college.* Of the many instances afforded in the history of the popes of their degradation of the Apostolic dignity to an object of worldly ambition, no one of them proves this so lamentably as the long struggle of these partisans to obtain the election. They maintained the contest for a year and eight months. Neither by acclamation nor inspiration could the competitors secure a majority of votes. One of the Frenchmen, Cardinal Cholet, died of fever in August; but among the eleven survivors, the operations of the Orsini were invariably thwarted by the influence of the Colonnas, and the Colonnas found all their exertions neutralized by the intrigues of their fellow-citizens. It was a grand illustration of a familiar quotation, for the Guelphs and Ghibellines gave up to party what was meant for mankind.

The conclave removed to Perugia, and continued the contest. At last, one of the Roman cardinals (Malebranca) thought of an expedient to end the strife. It was impossible to get the factions to agree to either of the candidates, but they might feel no hostility to a stranger. He commended a popular hermit, Pedro Morrone, for his austerities and for his sanctity. The cardinals appear to have elected him by acclamation. One was so tired of

* Ciaconius.

the profitless and unseemly conflict, he declared that he had had a vision, threatening them all with divine chastisement if they did not at once put an end to their indecision. The solitary Frenchman was the first to give in his adhesion; the rest made it an affair of nationality, and eagerly agreed to an Italian pope.

But the Hermit preferred his sackcloth to the pontifical robes, his bread and water to pontifical fare, and his narrow cell in the Abruzzi to a magnificent palace in Rome. A deputation from the cardinals toiled up the mountain, and with great difficulty obtained access to the local saint,—an aged recluse, gaunt, hirsute, and nearly exhausted by constant prayer and fasting. He declined the overwhelming honour. The population of the vicinity, flattered by such an elevation of their favourite, in vain joined in pressing it on his acceptance. The king of Naples came to his subject, and added his persuasions with little more success. Then the venerable Cardinal Malebranca, the senior of the Sacred College, who had proposed his election, called into exercise his eloquence and his dignity on the reluctant recluse. At last, Pedro Morrone consented to enter Naples riding on an ass, and attended by the entire population; but he would not go to Rome.

There were other things in the hermit's conduct that dissatisfied the Romans. He selected the French cardinal Billion as his chief counsellor, and lavished the pontifical favours on the humble friends of his cell. Hardly had ten of the conclave hailed him as Celestine V. than they felt convinced of

the folly of their choice. Irreverently they came to the conclusion, that although acknowledged sinners had filled the chair of St. Peter but indifferently well, a saint would not do at all.

Every one took advantage of his simplicity; all were anxious to profit by his ignorance. He became the tool of the king of Naples, and the dupe of the French cardinal. He was so ignorant, that a few words of monkish Latin appeared to be the extent of his acquirements; and so averse to pontifical state, that he hid himself in the church when he ought to have been presiding at the consistory.

The Romans were annoyed by his insisting on remaining at Naples; and the foreign influence was made more evident to them by his creation of no less than thirteen cardinals, of whom the majority were French; and, though six were Italians, there was not one Roman in the list. The Colonna and Orsini families were disgusted with the hermit-pope. No Englishman had been included in the creation; therefore the prelates of the Anglican Church had equal right to be dissatisfied.

Some of the cardinals appear to have played tricks upon the unwilling Pontiff. He was constantly hearing a voice commanding his return to the vocation for which he was fitted. At last, his life was rendered so thoroughly uncomfortable by the intrigues of those around him, that, in the year 1294, he summoned a conclave, and after confessing to them his incapacity and utter unfitness for his responsible position, voluntarily resigned its dignities and emoluments. Before the cardinals had recovered from their astonishment, he had retired; he

stripped off his papal robes, and donning his old suit of sackcloth, returned to his lonely cell in the Abruzzi.

Benedetto Gaetani, of Anagni, was elected his successor, as Boniface VIII.; and as to him was attributed the annoyances that had induced Celestine to determine on the unprecedented step of abandoning the Papacy, those who had profited most, and hoped to profit more, by the hermit's incompetency, became his vindictive opponents.

There were many distinguished scholars in the Anglican Church in the thirteenth century. In addition to those named, were Rich, archbishop of Canterbury; Richard Fishacre, a professor at Oxford and Paris; William Sherwood, chancellor of Lincoln; but in philosophical study, particularly, the greatest of all was Roger Bacon, the renowned Franciscan monk. Of his attainments his contemporaries were justly proud; the bishop of Lincoln, who was his patron and friend, absolutely censuring Pope Innocent IV. for encouraging the clergy in persecuting him. The friar became obnoxious, not only on account of his superior intelligence, which, as usual, procured him an evil reputation, but for certain strictures which he passed upon indolent and ignorant priests. Clement IV. entertained a very high opinion of him, and to this pontiff he dedicated his "Opus Majus." His successors took no notice of him, except Nicholas IV., to whom he addressed his treatise "On the means of avoiding the Infirmities of Age," but without avail. He was kept a close prisoner by the superior of his order, till powerful interest was made for him, when he was permitted to return to Oxford. He

subsequently produced his "Compendium of Theology," by the way, probably, of asserting his orthodoxy, and died 11th of June, 1292. The monks having, by their persecutions, nearly driven him into the grave, after his death appeared as if they could not praise him sufficiently. He received the appellation "Doctor Mirabilis," as St. Thomas Aquinas got that of "Doctor Angelicus," Duns Scotus, "Doctor Subtilis," and William Ockham, "Doctor Singularis." He was far in advance of his age in scientific knowledge; and Gregory XIII.'s improvement in the calendar was founded on his study of astronomy.*

Balsham, bishop of Ely, finding himself aggrieved by the spoliation of the lands of his see by King Henry III., who desired that his chancellor, Henry de Wingham, should have the bishopric, went to Rome, to appeal to the Pope. Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, had recommended a Minorite Friar. The suit was permitted to drag on for more than ten years, when Balsham's election by the monks was confirmed. He was a munificent benefactor to Ely and Cambridge, founding in the latter St. Peter's College, and bequeathing his library to the scholars, and three hundred marks annually for the erection of new buildings. As a grateful memorial of these obligations, the university authorities bound themselves, in the year 1291, to celebrate annually a solemn commemoration of his decease.

* Bale, "Comment. de Scrip. Britann.," 359. Pits, "De Illust. Ang. Scrip.," 367. Plot, "Natural Hist. of Oxfordshire," 215. Wood, "Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.," 158. Fleury, "Histoire Ecclésiastique," liv. 33.

In the year 1294, the hermit, Pope Celestine V., sent Bertrand Delgot on a mission to the English clergy; by another bull he gave the first-fruits of benefices in the province of Canterbury to Cardinal Jacopo Colonna. Boniface VIII. annulled many of Celestine's grants.*

One of his first acts was to send a couple of Italian cardinals as legates, ostensibly to negotiate a peace between France and England. They do not seem to have effected much in this direction; but in the way of accomplishing their real errand, they extorted a double tax from the members of the religious orders.† Another cardinal made his appearance in London a little later; but while he was being entertained by the Templars, his retainers and those of his host contrived to fall out; weapons were drawn, and a desperate fight ensued, in which a nephew of the cardinal was slain.

The archbishop of Canterbury and his clergy were much pressed by Edward in 1296 for pecuniary assistance. After convoking a synod, the primate had an interview with the king on the subject; but this does not appear to have mitigated the severity of the squeezing the Anglican priesthood underwent. It seems that for the war in Gascony Edward not only wanted money but steeds; and having appropriated the estates of the Church, he now seized the horses. The primate gave permission to the clergy to follow their own consciences as to redeeming them by a money payment. Nearly all followed the suggestion;

* Bartholomei de Cotton, "Historia Anglicana" (Luard)—Rolls Publications, 198, 282, 287.

† Matt. West., 1295.

but the archbishop allowed his property to remain in the king's hands. In the following year he held a convocation, which resulted in a message from the clergy to the king, and in their excommunication of all offenders against the bull of Boniface VIII. This does not appear to have produced much effect.*

The cardinals amassed riches, but were surrounded by perils, through the antagonism of the two dominant Roman families,—the Orsini and the Colonnesi. Boniface VIII. was at violent feud with the latter; he deposed two cardinals of this family, and excommunicated them and their adherents, against whom he commenced a warfare of extermination. Sciazza, the head of the house, escaped to France, but after being captured by corsairs, returned to Italy. He surprised the Pope at Anagni, and took him prisoner. It had so serious an effect upon his Holiness, though he was shortly afterwards released, that he became insane, and so died. Among other memorable things in his pontificate, he founded the jubilee of 1300, and decided that it should be repeated at the completion of every century. It brought innumerable visitors to the Holy City, and large contributions to the papal treasury.

Of doubtful English cardinals or churchmen elevated to that dignity in the course of this century, there are several. Such was "Ancherus," said to have been included in the creation of 1261, and who died at Rome in the year 1286. A more familiar name is that of William Bray, who attained

* Cotton, "Historia Anglicana" (Luard), 32.

a great reputation as a theologian. It has been stated that he was elevated at Viterbo to a place in the Sacred College, in the year 1262, and flourished during seven pontificates,—Clement IV. to Martin IV.* Urban IV. died in 1264; therefore, if Bray died in 1282, he must have lived under eight popes. He was archdeacon of Rheims.†

Hugo de Evesham appears to have acquired a great name, not only as a scholar, but as a physician, and was created cardinal priest of Lorenzo in Lucina, by Martin IV., in 1281, and died at Rome six years after, when Honorius IV. caused a noble monument to be erected to his memory.‡

"Bernard de Anguescelle," archbishop of Rheims, is stated to have been made a cardinal bishop in 1281, and died in 1290. He most probably was a Frenchman. "Berardus" is also included among the English Princes of the Church in a creation of 1288, and his career closed in 1291.§ Nothing seems to be known about him.

There were many contemporary English churchmen in high favour at the papal court. Among the most distinguished was Walter Giffard, who held the confidential office of chaplain to the Pope, through whose influence he was consecrated archbishop of York, in opposition to the dean, who was the choice of the chapter.

* Cardella, "Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali."
† Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ."
‡ Ciaconius, i. 774.
§ Godwin, "De Præsulibus, &c."

CHAPTER V.

THOMAS JOYCE, CARDINAL LEGATE.

A Jubilee proclaimed at Rome—Pilgrimages to the Holy City—Outrage on Boniface VIII.—his Death—Clement V. and Edward II.—Joyce, the King of England's Confessor, appointed a Cardinal—goes to Rome—Papal Exactions in England—Burning a Heretic—Exodus of the Cardinals—the English Cardinal accompanies the Pope to France—appointed Legate in Germany—Papal Court at Avignon—Death of Cardinal Joyce—the Italian Cardinals desire to return to Rome—Ravages of the Black Plague—the Flagellants, Beghards, and Lollards—an Anti-Pope—Cola di Rienzi—an Anti-Emperor—the Cardinals return to Rome—Robert Eaglesfield.

TO what extent the pretensions of the Pontiffs had arrived may be learnt from the conduct of Boniface VIII. when he discovered that Albert of Thuringia had permitted himself to be elected to the imperial dignity without having asked his concurrence, and had not subsequently paid him homage. He addressed to him a letter, in which he asserted that *he* was the Emperor. Albert chose to be of a different opinion, and allied himself with Philip, king of France. At Rome this step was met by the customary precursors of hostilities, and a portion of Germany was presently the seat of a sanguinary war against the allies. But the French proving treacherous, the Emperor found it neces-

sary to endeavour to make his peace with the Pontiff.

Rome was at this time thronged with pilgrims. Boniface having proclaimed a jubilee, the churches were filled with the devout and the altars piled with their offerings. The papal power was evinced by the liberality as well as the number of the pilgrims, and the cardinals participated in the gains as well as in the glories of the festival. The jubilee was a source of great gratification to the papal court, and Boniface was not indisposed to accept an additional evidence of his supremacy. The Emperor was sufficently submissive, agreed to assist the views of the Pope, and to make war only at his suggestion. The imperial arms, however, did not ultimately profit by these concessions, and the Emperor was assassinated in 1308.

The Papacy was at the height of its splendour and its omnipotence. The grand ideas of Boniface were shared by the magnificent Princes of the Church. Everything in the Eternal City promised an eternity of affluence and adoration. A cloud no bigger than a man's hand was in the bright horizon; but it was the iron hand of Philip le Bel, king of France, and it presently cast so dark a shadow over the pontificate as to threaten an eclipse.

The Pope thundered a bull, in which he announced himself as sovereign over the wide earth and every living thing it contained. The French monarch would not regard him as a Jupiter Tonans, and as the Roman people were weary of his power, Philip found no difficulty in teaching the papal court a severe lesson as to the instability of ecclesiastical

omnipotence. A band of French knights succeeded in surprising the Pontiff and the College of Cardinals in the seat of their authority; the Romans simultaneously broke out into revolt, and the lords of heaven and earth were at once the most helpless of human creatures. Boniface was eighty years old, but his venerable appearance did not shield him from the wrath of his captors. The indignities they inflicted upon him affected his brain, and he died miserably in the year 1303.

The bribery and extortion that prevailed in the Roman courts had long become an intolerable abuse. Every one who had a cause there relied more for success on the amount of his bribes than on the justice of his case; and there was no crime, however frightful, for which money could not procure a pardon. The officers of the Curia used their influence with the Holy Father for a price; and few pontiffs of the period were inaccessible to suitors who came with a sufficiently liberal retainer. Peter of Blois mentions the case of a man, thoroughly unqualified morally and intellectually, who was at Rome purchasing the dignity of abbot of Canterbury, while a prelate suspected of murder by similar means was permitted to go unpunished. Even when the Papal See was blessed with an honourable and incorruptible head, he was powerless to control the cupidity of the members of his government.*

The eagerness of the papal court to get money was not always successful. The cardinals generally

* Neander gives copious illustrations of the corrupt practices existing in the *curia Romana*.

supported the Pope in his exactions, however intolerable they might be; but Matthew of Westminster records one instance in which widows and orphans as well as noble knights were plundered, and some of the cardinals were opposed to the scheme. The same chronicler records another proceeding of a similar nature which was cleverly frustrated. It seems that the order of Friars Minors in England had offered the Pope four hundred thousand gold florins for permission to hold estates and maintain revenues, like other wealthy brotherhoods who had commenced their career with the same professions of humility and poverty. Having ascertained that the money would be forthcoming, the Holy Father consented; but King Edward having been informed of the proceeding, seized the entire sum, then in the hands of merchants, and applied it to his own use, answering all complaints by asserting the necessity of the friars maintaining the rule of their founder. Such rule had received the pontifical sanction, and, of course, he could not allow it to be violated. The Minorites did not readily reconcile themselves to this heavy blow and great discouragement; nevertheless, the order contrived to flourish. Boniface seems to have been still more mortified, and retaliated by prohibiting the king's waging further war against the king of Scotland, and by claiming authority in the disposal of that country, of which Edward desired to possess himself. By way of recompense, the Pope shortly afterwards appointed one of the friars to the vacant bishopric of Worcester. The king of England, however, was quite able to hold his own against even so influential an opponent, and would not, nor would

his nobles, acknowledge the Pontiff's pretensions.* In the year 1301 the Pope had extorted a tenth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of England.

Boniface was unquestionably extremely unpopular in Italy; for when he died, his end apparently hastened by the indignity with which his person had been treated, the epitaph written for him stated that he had begun his career like a fox, had roared like a lion, but had died like a dog, while as poor as a beggar. The cardinals elected as his successor Benedict XI. Warned by the fate of his predecessor, he affected moderation, and was at first inclined to make himself a mere tool of the king of France. No more tremendous decrees were issued by the papal court; the cardinals had been forced into the employment of a less aggressive policy, and showed themselves willing to enjoy their own dignity without striving to diminish that of secular princes. But the great spirit of Boniface still seemed to hover about the chair of St. Peter, and occasionally to influence the counsels of the Sacred College. As soon as they could recover sufficiently from their fears, the cardinals began to assume their old pretensions, and the Pope to exercise his old authority. The whole machinery would perhaps have gone on as before, had not it again been thrown out of gear by the loss of its directing influence. It was clear, however, that the Papacy lacked the judgment that had directed it during the reign of the English pope. Benedict's pontificate lasted but eight months and

* The letter Edward wrote to Pope Boniface claiming his right to the whole island as a descendant of Brutus, the conqueror, is a very curious historical document.

fifteen days, when, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was poisoned by the cardinals. A dispute arosein the Sacred College as to the appointment of a successor, that continued for nine months, when they elected Clement V.

Bernard de Goth, who succeeded Benedict, was a Frenchman, and at once placed himself entirely at the service of the king of France As the Pontiff had reason to distrust his Roman subjects, and desired to show his subservience to the French monarch, he determined to turn his back upon the Eternal City. Its claims as the capital of the Christian world could not be permitted to weigh against considerations of personal security, or of pontifical policy. The cardinals therefore had to prepare for an exodus; but, to reconcile them to the journey, were assured that their enjoyments would be greatly increased by their change of residences. So the entire court presently packed up their personalty, ready for a start when the turbulent Romans should render a longer residence amongst them unsafe.

This pontiff appears to have been in high favour with Edward II., king of England, who forwarded to him, by the bishops of Lichfield and Worcester and the earl of Lincoln, a complete set of gold vessels for his chamber and kitchen. Clement expressed his acknowledgments. Out of ten cardinals created by him in 1305, one was an Englishman,—Thomas Joyce, a brother of the order of Preaching Friars,* who filled the post of confessor and confidential counsellor to King Edward, and was held in great esteem for the

* Matt. of West., 1305.

purity of his life. He had greatly distinguished himself in a controversy at Cambridge, as well as by his profound wisdom. He bore the title of cardinal of St. Sabina. He was an Oxford doctor of theology, and had obtained much repute at the sister university. After his elevation he left the court of England for that of Rome, where he was confidentially employed by the Pontiff.

There does not seem to have been much Christian feeling cultivated among the retainers of the Princes of the Church and their sovereign, for a quarrel between them broke out into a fight, in which one of the Pope's brothers was killed.

It was this outrage that had made him dissatisfied both with Rome and with the Romans. In the year 1305, he removed his court to Bordeaux (of which he had previously been archbishop),—a city of so much importance as to have been regarded as a second Rome. The senators did not approve of this, and sent a message to the Pontiff requesting his return; but, having the fate of his predecessors before his eyes, he chose to remain. While here, he suspended Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, for offences against the king, with whom he maintained so good an understanding, that he permitted a grant of the revenues of the Anglican Church, to be applied in defraying the expenses of an expedition against the infidels; but the money was spent in a very different manner.

It was then that Clement, in reply to the demands of some of the English prelates, claimed, as Matthew of Westminster asserts, all the first-fruits of bishoprics, abbacies, priories, prebends, rectories, and vicarages, as well as smaller benefices, for two

years. On this the Holy Father insisted, seeing, as the chronicler asserts, perhaps satirically, the insatiable avarice of certain English ecclesiastics. Some of the clergy were accused of graver offences. When the king's treasury was plundered, the monks of Westminster were committed to prison on suspicion. They were subsequently liberated.

The accusation of avarice was replied to by a decree emanating from a parliament held at Carlisle in 1307, intended to check papal extortions.

The exactions of the papal legates in England form the subject of constant animadversion by our chroniclers. Matthew of Westminster records how a certain cardinal, Master Peter the Spaniard, sent by the Pope into England to perform the marriage ceremony between Prince Edward and the Princess Isabella of France, came to London with the object of plundering the churches, on the authority of a bull; from each cathedral or convent, and from all regular and irregular churches and priories, demanding twelve marks sterling; but the clergy appealed against the extortion, and the council decided that the Pope must be content with half the sum, the same that Cardinal Ottoboni had received when legate.*

In the previous year a heretic had been consigned to the flames, for not only preaching strange doctrines, but for prophesying the destruction of the Pope and the cardinals.

The state of the Church of England near the commencement of the fourteenth century was deplorable. It was subject to heavy and constant

* Matt. West., anno 1307.

exactions from the Pontiff, to meet which it taxed its members, and apparently taxed the laity as grievously. The king, pressed by the necessity of providing for his wars, claimed large contributions, so large, indeed, that the prelates in a body declared their inability to comply. The king would not be denied. Those who delayed their payments were plundered, and the property of the archbishop of Canterbury was seized for the king's use. Subsequently Edward relented, expressed his regret, promised to respect the charters, and persuaded the clergy to grant a subsidy.

In the year 1301 Walter de Langton, bishop of Chester and treasurer of England, had been cited to appear before the Pope to answer grave charges brought against him. Matthew of Westminster states that he lavished no small sum on the Roman court; for they, knowing that he was a fatter ox than the generality, made the most of their opportunity. His suit did not seem to prosper at first, and he was sent back to England; but he returned to Rome in a fatter condition than before, and when his friends there had feasted sufficiently at his expense, they restored him to his diocese with a more elevated character and greater authority than he had ever previously possessed, while his accuser, as a natural sequence, very shortly afterwards came to a bad end. "And from him," says the chronicler, "let the wicked laity take warning, and learn what it is to accuse ecclesiastics."*

Subsequently, the Papacy was removed to Avignon, and the Pope sought to govern Italy by means

* Matt. West., 1301.

of legates; but these officials were detested for their arbitrary proceedings and greediness of gain. They commenced wars, which were carried on in a spirit highly injurious to the reputation of the papal government.

Cardinal Joyce continued with the papal court, occasionally employed on missions of importance; he died while acting as legate to the Empire in 1311. Anthony Wood mentions him as the last of eight Dominicans, who were men of great fame (1309), according to the learning then most appreciated.*

Of "Tommaso Joice" there is a long account in Cardella. He is said to have been as famous in learning as in sanctity, and to have studied with St. Thomas Aquinas. According to this authority, he terminated his career at Grenoble, in the year 1310. His remains were transferred to Oxford.† Ciaconius mentions a great number of his writings.‡

Safe in pleasant Avignon, the cardinals heard of the progress of the imperial arms in Italy, and the emperor Henry's unsuccessful assault upon the

* It was soon after this that a dispute occurred between the friars and the university. King Edward II. wrote to the Pope and cardinals four letters, in 1313, advocating the cause of the former. Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury, befriended them. The bishop of Lincoln appears to have favoured the same side. It was at last settled by arbitration, delegates having been appointed by both parties, and a composition effected; which, however, dissatisfied the friars, and they presently (1316) carried their grievances to Avignon. The king again, and many of the nobility, were impressed into their service, and some satisfaction seems to have been given them; but the quarrel was not made up till 1320.

† Cardella, ii. 79.

‡ Ciaconius, i. 835, 843.

city they had abandoned. Possibly they were gratified by his retreat; it is to be hoped that they heard of his death in 1313 with different feelings, for he was poisoned by a monk who had handed him a cup of wine. Their notorious hostility, however, and readiness to take advantage of the incident, suggest a different conclusion.

The war of the Guelphs and Ghibellines was raging with greater fury than ever, and the best blood of Italy and Germany mingled in the merciless quarrel; but it was one that had peculiar interest for the Pope, and French assistance was always at hand to increase its violence whenever the Emperor's arms appeared about to insure the success of the Ghibellines. When Clement died, his successor, John XXII., was quite as completely in the French service.

Louis of Bavaria was summoned to Avignon, and as he did not appear, in 1324 the Empire was placed under an interdict. The Franciscans now, who had not ceased to denounce the vices of the luxurious prelates, came forward and officiated in the churches of Germany, and delivered sermons in defence of the Emperor. Occam, an Englishman, said to be the most learned scholar of his age, distinguished himself as one of the imperial advocates. The rage of the Pontiff manifested itself by inciting animosities, and arranging combinations against Louis, who retaliated by causing the election of another pope, Martin V., in the person of one of the Franciscans who had defied the authority of the court of Avignon. This event took place at Rome, where John XXII. was burnt in effigy. The Em-

peror went there to be crowned by Martin; but again the Germans made themselves obnoxious throughout Italy, and Louis was compelled to retreat.

The consternation with which the cardinals had received the intelligence of the appointment of an anti-pope was only allayed when the penitent Franciscan was brought prisoner to Avignon. Apparently the Pontiff was desirous of conciliating the bold monks who had given him so much trouble, as well as to give a public proof of his superiority over the Emperor, by pardoning his agent, for Martin was permitted to lay down the tiara and return to the cowl. Shortly afterwards Louis was also forced into submission. On the removal of the interdict, he offered to surrender the Franciscans, and even to abdicate; but John XXII. replied by stirring up the electoral princes against him with increased activity, and declared Italy emancipated from imperial authority. At this crisis the Pope died (1334), leaving immense wealth.

Benedict XII. continued the policy of his predecessor in servility to the French king and antagonism to the Emperor. The latter he pressed so hard, that a popular reaction in the imperial favour arose throughout Germany, the interdict was disregarded, the priests who respected it expelled, and the Pope generally set at defiance; but Benedict, and after him Clement VI., persevered in the pontifical course of action, and such a combination was arrayed against Louis, and such a dreadful anathema hurled at him, that unqualified submission became his only resource.

The cardinals at Avignon received their reward for their devotion to French interests, the Papacy had proved a most valuable weapon in French hands; and the imperial power being at last subjected to the last act of humiliation, Louis laid his crown and empire at the feet of the Pontiff. Shortly afterwards (1344) a new emperor, Charles IV., was elected under the auspices of Clement. He was a mere creature of the Papacy; but to the mortification of Pope and cardinals, a power began to develop itself that threatened destruction to both their accommodating friends. The king of England, Edward III., triumphed over their emperor in Flanders, and with the assistance of his heroic son, the Black Prince, won at Crecy and Poitiers the fairest portion of France.

The life of luxurious enjoyment which the court at Avignon had so long enjoyed, was now threatened with a disastrous conclusion. The cardinals were at a loss what to do to stop the career of conquest that was rapidly diminishing the power and the resources of their liberal protector. Edward, Prince of Wales, was establishing an English kingdom in France, and though Burgundy was not a French province, there was nothing to prevent English chivalry from uniting it with Guienne, Aquitaine, and Normandy. Heaven also appeared to declare against them, for a luminous pillar shone above the pontifical palace,—a warning which the conduct of its occupant, according to some authorities,* had provoked. They had more than suffi-

* Wolfgang Menzel declares that Clement lived among his mistresses like the Grand Turk in his harem.

cient cause for alarm; for in addition to earthquakes and other physical disturbances, a fearful pestilence swept over Europe, that spared neither priest nor layman. The Sacred College were frightened by the accounts they received of the ravages of the black plague among the religious orders; but in their eyes the worst visitation was the existence of a sect of religious enthusiasts announcing the end of the world, preaching penitence, and exhibiting the severe discipline of the Flagellants. They wore white hats marked with red crosses, and went in bodies singing penitential psalms: many were pilgrims from the Holy Land. Besides these, other sects began to multiply, known as Beghards and Lollards. As soon as the pestilence abated, the papal court exerted themselves zealously to put down these heresies, and the Lollards being regarded as the most formidable, from the purity of their lives, received the greatest amount of persecution.

Notwithstanding the pleasures of existence at Avignon, some of the cardinals longed to return to Rome. Their vassalage to the king of France had become irksome, especially as he had now more limited means of recompense. Besides, they need have no fear of German hostility; Charles IV. had been educated amongst them, and was completely under their guidance. The society at Avignon was very charming, the climate delightful, the scenery exquisite; but then it was always Avignon. They had become satiated with its gratifications; they required a change; they reproached themselves for having abandoned the last resting-place of the pri-

mitive saints and martyrs, and were continually refreshing each other's piety with references to the incomparable relics and astounding miracles of the deserted city. Unquestionably it was the capital of the Christian world, and there his Holiness ought to return.

Unfortunately for the realization of their desires, the Eternal City was just then in its chronic state of republicanism under Cola di Rienzi, and was far from a safe retreat for cardinals. Charles IV. having gone there to be crowned, sent Rienzi in chains to Avignon, where the patriot was talked into thorough subserviency to the policy of the Pontiff, Innocent VI., which he returned to Rome to carry out. Every one knows his fate. The court again were absorbed in the formation of alliances and the fostering of feuds. Guelphs and Ghibellines were set in hostile array against each other, and Petrarch in vain implored the Emperor to restore peace and happiness to Italy. Charles obediently presented himself at Avignon on his return, and by his representations so assured the reigning pontiff, Urban V., that he began to listen to the arguments of his counsellors in favour of a restoration of the Papacy to its proper residence, as well as to their complaints of the intolerable subjection of the conclave to the king of France.

Among contemporary English ecclesiastics must be mentioned Robert Eaglesfield, a churchman of great talent and high principles in the reign of Edward III., to whose queen he was chaplain, and was much esteemed by both. His exertions for the advancement of religion and learning caused him

to be generally appreciated at court; but he does not appear to have held higher preferment than the rectory of Burgh, in Westmoreland. He was, however, not content with exemplifying the nobler virtues of a Catholic priest. At considerable expense he founded Queen's College, Oxford, so named in honour of his royal patroness, who subsequently, as well as the king, contributed liberally to its support. He died in June, 1349.

CHAPTER VI.

SIMON LANGHAM, CARDINAL-LEGATE.

Monachism in England—Prices of Provisions—Plunder from a Religious House—Simon Langham a Benedictine at St. Peter's, Westminster—becomes Prior and Abbot—Abbot Langham's Generosity—Monastic Art—English Prelates at Avignon—Richard de Bury—his Work on the Advantages of Study—Bishop Bateman—Ecclesiastical Life at the Papal Court—Petrarch and Laura—the Abbot appointed Treasurer to Edward III.—becomes Bishop of Ely—a Jubilee in England—Statute of Provisors—National Opposition to Papal Exactions—Increasing Desire for a Reformation of the Church—Langham appointed Archbishop of Canterbury—a Princely Churchman—William of Wykeham—the Primate's "Constitutions"—he is elevated to the Dignity of Cardinal—Cola di Rienzi—Cardinal Langham at Avignon—Infirmities of Edward III.—the Cardinal appointed Legate to France and England—prepares to leave Avignon—his Death—the Papal Court returns to Rome.

MONACHISM in the fourteenth century had spread in England almost as much as in other portions of Christendom. From the fourth century about seventy distinct orders of monks and nuns had been established, and houses of many of them were to be found in all parts of the kingdom. An inclination for a religious life led both sexes to swell their numbers: to these other inducements not so creditable made considerable additions. Adopting the cowl was an easy way of beginning a

profession the honours and emoluments of which were greatly in excess of all others. Many a youthful scholar, too, was aware of the advantages that might be derived from such a life in the pursuit of knowledge, and accepted the solitary cell as a study, and the solemn cloisters as an aid to memory and reflection.

Several were distinguished as university professors. Speaking of Oxford, "the three schoolmen of the most profound and original genius," says Brewer, "Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Occam, were trained within its walls. No other nations of Christendom can show a succession of names at all comparable to the English schoolmen in originality and subtilty, in the breadth and variety of their attainments." *

In the universities the presence of vast numbers of monks continued to be a source of ill-feeling that frequently occasioned fearful disturbances. Having acquired great influence, some of the fraternities chose to exercise it in an arbitrary manner that made them obnoxious to the scholars, who at very slight provocation made jests of their assumption of humility and self-denial. They thought it hard to have to

* Preface to "Monumenta Franciscana," lxxxi. "Italy produced its Aquinas," continues the editor, "a great organizer, like the Roman himself; its Bonaventure, in whom St. Francis reappears in a shape more learned, if not more spiritual; Germany its laborious Albertus Magnus; Spain its Raymond Sully, the representative of Spanish adventure and Spanish genius. But no nation can show three schoolmen like the English, each unrivalled in his way, and each working with equal ability in opposite directions. The influence of the English school was consequently more profound, more brilliant the reputation of its teachers."

endure privations through inability to pay the cost of their own maintenance, whilst scores of idle friars were, as was reported, living on the fat of the land without study or labour.

We cannot better give an idea of the difference of prices in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, compared with those of the third quarter of the nineteenth, than by inserting the values of the principal articles of consumption in the former period. While the scholars were complaining of the dearness of living, it will be seen by what follows how fared some of the religious orders in their vicinity, who professed poverty and privation.

Provisions being dear in the Oxford market, the students complained, when the king sent out his breve fixing the prices. "A good living ox that is stalled or corn-fed, to be sold at the price of 16s., and no higher; if fatted with grass, then at 14s. A fat cow, 12s.; a fat hog of two years old, 3s. 4d.; a fat mutton corn-fed, or whose wool is not grown, 1s. 8d.; a fat mutton shorn, 1s. 2d.; a fat goose, 2d.; a fat capon, 2d.; a fat hen, 1d.; two chickens, 1d.; four pigeons, 1d.; twenty-four eggs, 1d." It was sent not only to Oxford, but to all the large towns.*

The monks of the abbey of Abingdon must have suffered severely by the plunder of their house by Oxford men; they return their loss at a hundred Psalters, forty Missals, a hundred Graduals, twelve Codes, ten Decretals, from the library; ten chalices, twenty white vestments called surplices, sixty copes, forty casulæ or sacred garments, a censer and candlestick of silver, sixty little cups or goblets of

* Anthony Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 388.

gold, forty silver cups, a hundred silver pieces of plate, forty silver spoons, and two hundred dishes or platters, from their treasury; and a hundred carcases of beef, a thousand carcases of mutton, three hundred hogs, from their larder; besides goods and chattels of the house, church, and abbey, valued at £1,000. One estimate makes the entire loss £10,000, another doubles it.*

The Benedictine community appears to have been the most favoured by scholars ambitious of distinction, and probably their reputation for learning and piety induced Simon Langham to join the fraternity of St. Peter's, Westminster, about the year 1335. It is not known whether he had been educated at the ancient school attached to the monastery, where Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, and subsequently other learned ecclesiastics, received the foundation of their scholarship. It is certain that he entertained through life a warm affection for the establishment. A recent authority considers that he was possessed of considerable wealth when he entered upon the monastic life.† It was a rule of these Benedictines that no member of their order could possess property of his own; nevertheless, it is well known that he accumulated a large fortune while a monk.‡ The things he had in daily use belonged to the fraternity; yet it was not unusual for him to have furniture, books, and other goods for his exclusive enjoyment. That he had funds at his own disposal is proved by the fact that he paid

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford," i. 417.

† Hook, "Archbishops of Canterbury," iv. 164.

‡ Dugdale, "Monasticon."

the legal expenses of a suit against the abbot, which though at first decided in his favour, the judgment was afterwards reversed at a new trial.

Brother Simon won by his liberality the affections of the community, who, in the year 1346, sent him as their representative to the triennial general chapter of the order held at Northampton. There he assisted in the ordinary business of these meetings, for regulating the various Benedictine houses in England and raising funds for their maintenance.

Three years later, a pestilence, known as the Black Death, carried off twenty of the monks. Brother Simon had been elected prior; and when the abbot died of the plague, he succeeded to the vacancy. This necessitated confirmation at the hands of the Pope, then at Avignon; and there the new abbot went, obtained the proper authority, returned to England, and in due form having secured the benediction of the bishop of London, was admitted into office. In the vestry he put on mitre, dalmatica, ring, gloves, and sandals, then was received by the fraternity, at the head of which, pastoral staff in hand, he passed along the nave to the choir. At the top step he knelt in prayer, the monks behind him doing the same. He was admitted into the choir by his diocesan, where he occupied his proper stall. Here, the seniors of the brotherhood taking precedence, saluted their superior with the kiss of peace; first on the ringed hand, then on the mouth. He unrobed on returning to the vestry, held a chapter and delivered a discourse, after which all proceeded to the installation feast, where each monk was re-

galed with three dishes of fish, a loaf, and a gallon of wine.

It is to be hoped that the brethren, however much they may have rejoiced at the elevation of their friend, took this indulgence in moderation. It has been stated that, like other recluses, the "Black Monks" liked good living, and enjoyed well-cooked meat as well as fish whenever placed before them. Nor were they indifferent to good wine; but that each man consumed his gallon at a sitting has not been asserted. They adopted sometimes, it must be confessed, queer names for their indulgences in living; accepting them under the title of *Misericordia* without probably intending any reference to the penalties that often follow excess. Abbot Langham seems to have gratified them in this direction with unprecedented generosity, while he would not permit any presents to be offered to himself.

He was now one of the peers of the realm, and conducted himself like a prince. There was a debt left by his predecessor, that amounted to two thousand four hundred marks; he paid it, as he had defrayed the law costs, out of his private fortune. He did a great deal more in the same munificent spirit. The state of the abbey buildings betrayed shameful neglect, and a thorough renovation had become necessary. It happened that the monk who had succeeded him as prior, Nicholas Lillington, possessed much architectural knowledge, and with his assistance the work was commenced.

For centuries each abbey had contained a school of design, in which the art of the builder, as well

as that of the limner, was taught: these produced works of utility, as well as of decoration; and fish-ponds, orchards, and gardens increased the enjoyments of the community, equally with illuminated MSS. and transcripts of esteemed works. The monastery of St. Peter at this period seems to have taken an important step in the advancement of art, and instituted a school of mural painting, while the improvements in the building were in progress. The monks became painters, as they had elsewhere become gardeners, architects, and engineers, and in the decorations of their churches displayed the progress they were making in the new accomplishment.* It is difficult to trace their labour; but there can be little doubt that from this time scriptural and historical subjects began to appear on every ecclesiastical building of importance, and priests either directed or performed the work.

The German monks have hitherto obtained the credit of being the pioneers of art. The palace of the emperor Arnulph at Regensburg was decorated by a couple of Bavarian recluses towards the end of the ninth century; near the termination of the tenth, the brothers Tutelo and Notker cultivated the same talent in the convent of St. Gall, in Switzerland. About the middle of the eleventh, Ellinger, abbot of the monastery of Tegernsee, obtained considerable celebrity by his artistic labours; and a century later flourished another ecclesiastical artist, Conrad, a monk of the convent of Scheyern. These are earlier examples than can be produced from the

* See Sir Charles Eastlake, "Materials for a History of Oil-painting."

Benedictines of St. Peter's, nevertheless we doubt whether their influence was felt so far as that of the monks of Westminster; for it is on record that the English style of painting was in repute in the Netherlands, and there is reason for believing that Van Eyck learnt it in this country before he made it famous in his own.

The eastern portion of the cloister is believed to have been completed at the expense and under the superintendence of Abbot Langham. It was commenced by him in 1350, and as one of our earliest examples of the Perpendicular, deservedly excites unusual interest. Later he was responsible for other important improvements.

In the domestic management of the brotherhood he maintained his popularity, though he insisted that the Benedictines should always dress in their habit. They were not permitted to wear any ornament or garment used by laymen, or possess furniture or any other article of luxury. Moreover, they were prohibited from making bargains in church, except in fair time,*—a regulation that suggests that the Black Monks did not respect the sacred character of their abbey when attempting a little business on their own account.

As we have related, in the year 1309 Clement V. removed the pontifical court from Rome, and the ancient city of Avignon had since become the head-quarters of the Papacy. The cardinals had enjoyed even a more sunny life on the banks of the Rhone, than they had found on those of the Tiber; indeed

* Stevens, "Monasticon Hibernicum," 187—a translation of Alemand's "Histoire Monastique d'Irelande," with additions.

a more luxurious style of living than was there within their reach, could not have been secured anywhere in the fourteenth century. The place was full of churches and conventual buildings; it possessed a magnificent cathedral and a grand palace. The climate was delicious, the scenery beautiful.*

Among the most distinguished English prelates who visited the Pope, was the ambassador, treasurer, and chancellor of Edward III., Richard Aungerville, "Richard de Bury," the munificent bishop of Durham. As a statesman, as a scholar, as a philanthropist, his eminenee was unquestionable; as a lover of books and patron of learned men, he had no equal. His correspondence was very extensive, including Petrarch and other distinguished foreigners. He collected the finest library in England, which afforded constant employment to scribes, illuminators, and binders. Moreover, he wrote a Latin treatise in twenty chapters respecting the advantages of study.

The subjects run consecutively; thus: In praise of wisdom,—showing the works in which it is to be found. Books are to be preferred to affluence and pleasure. They ought always to be bought. An account of the benefits derived from them—they are misused only by the ignorant. The author says that good monks write good books, while bad ones are less worthily employed—he praises the ancient friars, reproves the modern ones—laments the loss of libraries by wars and fire—dwells on the opportunities he had

* In the year 1348 Clement VI. bought this fair city and the lands around it of Joan, countess of Provence and queen of Sicily; and it remained a portion of the Papal States till 1791, when it was absorbed into Republican France.

for forming a collection during his various employments—shows the superiority of the ancients in learning—considers that the age had now arrived at perfection, and boasts of having procured a Hebrew and Greek grammar. He speaks slightly of law and law books, but dilates on the utility of grammar—makes an apology for poetry, and indicates its use—shows who ought to love books—enumerates the advantages of learning—instructs his readers how to write new books, and mend old—dwells on the proper use of books, and describes in what way they should be replaced if lost or worn out—defends himself from calumniators, and enumerates the conditions upon which books should be lent to strangers.

Such is the "Philobiblos," which has been several times printed, though written in a style scarcely worthy of such a subject. The author was remarkable also for his charities, distributing large bounties to the poor. This princely prelate died April 24, 1345, and was entombed in his cathedral, which he had greatly improved.*

It was at Avignon, in the year 1354, that William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, died, when on a mission to the Pope, associated with the duke of Lancaster. He was buried in the cathedral with extraordinary magnificence, all the cardinals and prelates assisting in the solemnity, and the patriarch of Jerusalem performing the funeral service.† As a churchman his

* Godwin, "De Præsulibus." Bale, "De Script." Pits, "De Illust. Angl. Scriptor." Leland, "Itin." Camden, "Britann." Wharton's "Anglia Sacra" (William de Chambre), i. 765; Warton, "Hist. of Poetry," i. 120.

† Peck, "Desiderata Curiosa."

character may be sufficiently understood from the fact that Robert, Lord Morley, for killing deer in his park, was made to do public penance, by walking barefoooted and bareheaded through the town of Norwich, carrying a lighted taper.* This humiliation the bishop insisted on notwithstanding its prohibition by the king. Such an ecclesiastic was thought at Avignon worthy of the highest honours after death. Bishop Bateman is more to be remembered as the founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, though with but a slender provision.

While enjoying his first preferment in the society of his studious and industrious Benedictines, Abbot Langham's thoughts occasionally were directed towards the Catholic fountain of honour,—the papal court. Doubtless intelligence came to him of the pleasant life enjoyed by the brilliant circle of prelates who formed the council of Clement VI., and of the fascinations of the earthly Paradise they had created in their new quarters in sunny Avignon. The abbot could scarcely have failed to gain some knowledge of the remarkable picture of high church life exhibited there, in which his metropolitan had, *nolens volens*, sat for his portrait. To afford even a faint approach to an idea of this memorable illustration, we must transport the reader to a suite of magnificent apartments in the palace of the most luxurious of pontiffs, where all that was deemed pre-eminent in mediæval splendour, in the way of furniture and decorations, had been collected, either for display or use.

The apartments were crowded with a brilliant

* "Anglia Sacra," 415.

company, the rank and fashion of the ancient city; ladies and cavaliers in their costly yet quaint costume. The colours of the fabrics, the richness of the materials, the profusion of the jewellery, could only be done justice to by a romance poet of the time; such for instance as the author of "Sir Degrevant," who describes an earl's daughter as the Avignon beauties were dressed on this occasion.

"She came in velvet,
With white pearl over fret,
And sapphires therein set
On every side.
All of pall-work fine,
With miche and nevyn,
Overlaid with ermine,
And overt for pride.

"Her hair was highted on hold
With a coronal of gold.
Was never made upon mould
A worthier wight."

The remaining description is equally suggestive of the elaborate extravagance of the toilette of the belles of the fourteenth century; that of the beaux was quite as studiously fine. We learn from a contemporary poem—

"Ipomedon and Tholomew
Robes had on and mantles new;
Of the richest that might be,
There was none such in that countrie:
For many was the rich stone
That the mantles was upon."

The Ipomedons and Bartholomews of the papal court would have taxed the descriptive powers

of a greater poet to do justice to their apparel; nevertheless a very large majority were priests,—priests of the highest rank, however, such as cardinals, abbots, and priors, for the most part French, who cultivated a taste for refinement in living.

They were in groups, some reclining on couches and chairs; some standing about; the two sexes profoundly engaged in enjoying the worldly felicity of the moment, while the open windows letting in the golden sunshine of a summer's day in Provence, permitted the eye to rest on a vista of terrace-walks, mulberry-trees, flowering roses, with a glorious landscape in the background, that came refreshingly in contrast with the glare of colour within. It was the 11th of July, in the year 1349.

Here there was much artistic talk, for a gay young canon, fresh from Italy, was enlightening a circle of Parisian and Lyonnese prebendaries, with an account of the progress of painting in the cities he had visited; and the names of Taddeo Gaddi, Duccio da Siena, and Simone Memmi, were dwelt upon with patriotic enthusiasm. In quiet corners were the loveliest of the fair townswomen of the incomparable Laura, listening to the passionate *canzoni* of her lover, which seemingly lost nothing of their fervour when breathed from the lips of a Prince of the Church; or a group of literary enthusiasts of both sexes were comparing notes on the "Divina Commedia" of the sublime Dante, or with southern vivacity canvassing the merits of Giovanni Boccaccio's romance "Il Filocopo." In one place a portly Provençal bishop was reciting one of Marie's

lays to a circle of fair girls,—a tale of love and enchantment that, judging by their eloquent faces, produced the deepest impression on his audience.

But the centre of attraction and interest was a handsome dignified man, seated in a chair of state, in magnificent robes. This was Clement VI., and he was engaged in animated conversation with an English prelate, the learned Thomas Bradwardine,* in whose honour his Holiness had thrown open the state apartments of the pontifical palace, the Pontiff having just consecrated him archbishop of Canterbury. Grouped around were the most distinguished members of the Sacred College, who, however, appeared to regard the "Doctor Profundus," as he had been styled, with more curiosity than respect. A little in the background, one of the Pope's kinsmen, Hugo, cardinal of Tudela, moved about, whispering and laughing to his colleagues, as if they shared some important secret.

Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and there was a movement of intense surprise among the entire company. There entered a rustic on a donkey, who at once rode up to the Pontiff to

* Of the learned churchmen in the reign of Edward III., Roger Bacon was styled "Dr. Mirabilis;" Richard Middleton, "Dr. Fundatissimus;" John Duns Scotus, "Dr. Subtilis;" Walter Burley, "Dr. Approbatus;" John Baconthorpe, "Dr. Resolutus;" Thomas Bradwardine, "Dr. Profundus;" and William Occam, "Dr. Singularis." Nearly all had studied at Oxford. Of one of these Chaucer wrote—

> "But I ne cannot boult it to the bren
> As can the holy Doctor S. Austin,
> Doctor Boece, or the Bishop Bradwardine."

present a petition. Its prayer was that the donkey might be made a bishop.

There was, of course, immense jocularity throughout the assembly, for every one present must have been aware that the Holy Father, on being urged by the king of England to sanction the elevation of Bradwardine, had replied that if his good friend desired him to make a bishop of a jackass he could not refuse. Clement also remembered it; he remembered too, perhaps, that by so indecorous a performance, his guest, the learned author of "De Causa Dei," was being insulted; moreover, that it might be regarded as an outrage on good sense, as well as on good feeling. The performers were therefore summarily dismissed, and Cardinal Hugo reprimanded for having employed them,

Order having been restored, the company returned to their recreations, and the French cardinals assisted the Holy Father, by their courteous attentions to his guests, to remove any unpleasant impression that might have been left on his mind by the ill-timed, ill-placed *joke* of the cardinal of Tudela.

The archbishop, if he thought the matter worthy a remark, might have asked if the applicant for a bishopric was Brunellus, the asinine hero of the *Speculum Stultorum*, come to give as good an account of the cardinals as he had written of the monastic orders; or the hero of the "Metamorphosis" of Apuleius, an earlier satire of a somewhat similar nature. He prudently took no notice of the intended affront to the Anglican Church; but among his suffragans the story circulated on

his return, and was considered characteristic of the feeling with which the French cardinals regarded the English prelates.

About the time that Langham reached the capital of sunny Provence the population were full of the renown of a country man who had given a thoroughly Provençal fame to their picturesque city. Churchmen and laymen were busy with his name; and in the charming mulberry gardens the youth of both sexes murmured the passionate stanzas he had composed in honour of their townswoman. In 1348 the dreaded plague found in her one of the most illustrious of its victims; but her beauty had been rendered immortal, and even the Avignon monks in their hours of recreation could derive a delicious gratification from repeating the melodious verse with which it had been embalmed. Laura de Sade, though a wife and a mother, during the period in which she had inspired the most eloquent of amorous poetry, was a blameless woman, and a true Christian—a worthy Provençal heroine—and the cloister was quite as open to the sweet influence of her name as the blossoming orchards or the flowery meadows of the Rhone, the favourite promenade of the lovers of the city and neighbourhood.

Petrarch was still in the flesh, but his health was impaired, and in a village in the Euganean hills he was seeking the restorative benefit of pure air and quiet. No one knew better the nature of popes and cardinals, for no one had associated more freely with both; no one had written more unreservedly of the papal court. The English abbot could not have failed to hear of his intimacy with the families

of Colonna, Corregio, Visconti, Carrara, and Gonzaga; and his Latin and Italian works must have been of easy access. Those which most powerfully recommended themselves to the notice of Abbot Langham were his Epistles to the Popes at Avignon, urging their return to Rome, and the Eclogues—concealed satires on members of the papal court. His "Rebus Senilibus" were only just completed, and were doubtless in request with Gregory and his principal counsellors. Possibly the English abbot had higher sources of interest than the lover of Laura. Nearly a quarter of a century later, when residing in the same pleasant city, he could not have escaped sharing in the regret universally experienced in that neighbourhood at the announcement of Petrarch's death.

Ten years were passed by the abbot in honourable service to the Church; but his ability and high character were not to be monopolized by the Benedictines. King Edward III. was just the monarch to appreciate such a subject, and on the 21st of November, 1360, raised him to the dignity of treasurer of the kingdom, which apparently was like the modern office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The direction of the finances of the State just at that time was a post of as much difficulty as responsibility. The French wars of the king and his son, the heroic Black Prince, had entailed heavy debts, and much money had been borrowed from foreign capitalists. The new treasurer looked his difficulties in the face, and soon set earnestly about their amelioration. He satisfied his aged sovereign of his skill as well as of his integrity; for in the following year, the see of Ely becoming vacant, and

a few months later that of London being also without a bishop, both were offered to the abbot of Westminster; but as the chapter of the former were his Benedictine brethren, he accepted Ely in preference, and on the 30th of March, 1362, received consecration from the bishop of Winchester at St. Paul's.

His administrative qualifications recommended him more and more to the discernment of Edward III., and in February, 1363, he was appointed chancellor, equivalent to the modern post of premier. In the government of King Edward, churchmen monopolized the offices of most importance; parsons, archdeacons, and bishops filling what we have long regarded as secular appointments. It is to be presumed that laymen were rarely sufficiently qualified for the efficient performance of such duties, or the sagacious monarch would have appointed some of his chivalrous comrades. This was the year of the jubilee, when Edward had reached the fiftieth year of his reign, and three kings were then in England to do honour to the occasion,—the captive king of France, the liberated king of Scotland, and the mendicant king of Cyprus. The latter wanted a new crusade against the infidel; the Scottish king sued for a diminution of his ransom, but John of France quietly submitted himself to his destiny, and asked for nothing but the gratification of enjoying the courtesy of the father of his captor. There were great rejoicings in London, and hospitality distinguished both court and people. The bishop-chancellor exhibited his share, and was recognized during the festivities as the most popular of the king's ministers.

He had to open Parliament on the 13th of October, for the treasury was low, and dissatisfaction general. He addressed the two houses, promising redress of wrongs and reformation of abuses. It is evident that he desired to make the king's government popular; and his exertions were rewarded with a fair measure of success. The faithful Commons desired that the prelates and clergy should be made to offer up prayers for their excellent monarch. The legislative proceedings were carried on in the same spirit.

Before the meeting of the next Parliament the influence of France on the Pope necessitated the giving Urban V. a hint that England was not to be neglected; the Statute of Provisors was therefore to be enforced against papal pretensions and encroachments. In any opposition to the Pope a prelate was forced to act with caution; therefore in the proceedings that were had recourse to, the bishop of Ely kept as much as possible in the background. He preached at the opening of Parliament a satisfactory sermon, and then appealed to both houses to support the king in measures that had been rendered imperative for the protection of the realm. He ended with promising attention to all petitions. The Lords then retired to their chamber, where they were addressed by the king. Edward, with characteristic boldness, spoke out against the insulting exactions of the Pope that were impoverishing the country, preventing not only the course of proper hospitality but the due performance of divine worship, and desired that an effectual stop should be put to such abuses.

The Commons were then summoned, and the chancellor made them acquainted with the royal speech. The effect was general, the victors of Crecy and Agincourt were not the men to suffer themselves to be plundered and treated with injustice; so Lords and Commons hastened to pass an act for enforcing the Statute of Provisors and Præmunire. The Holy Father at Avignon would no doubt have been edified, could he have heard some of the speeches delivered on this occasion. The bill was passed unanimously, as well as another act for the protection of the lords spiritual, who had voted with the lords temporal.

Urban V. appears to have taken this measure as a slap in the face. He was surrounded by Frenchmen, who smarted under the humiliations that had been inflicted upon them in the field. At their suggestion he wrote to the king of England insultingly, reminding him of the degradation of his ancestor, and claiming thirty years' arrears of the tribute he had agreed to pay for his crown. King Edward, however, soon proved that he was not King John, and found clergy and laity ready with their support. It was presently seen that the spirit of the nation had been roused as much by the reminder as by the preposterous demand. The houses were again summoned, and met on the 30th of March, 1366. The chancellor found them of one mind when he made them acquainted with the business in hand. The Lords retired to their own chamber, and very quickly decided on repudiating the tribute. The Commons did the same with equal promptness. Then an enactment was passed without a dissentient voice,

that if the Pope ventured to maintain any such claim in England, he should be resisted by the whole power of the kingdom.*

As a further challenge to the court at Avignon, the king prohibited the collection of Peter's Pence. There was also an enactment passed restraining to some extent the mendicant orders, at the petition of the two universities.

The supremacy that had been assumed at Rome, or wherever the papal court happened to be, was never legally acknowledged in England. There are several statutes distinctly opposed to it, and it only obtained currency when the king and his prelates had become sufficiently denationalized to submit to papal encroachments. The patriotic Bishop Langham materially assisted in causing the stand that was made against them in this vigorous reign, and in inducing a parliament of spiritual and lay peers to bind themselves to resistance.†

In one of the works of Sir Thomas More, as good

* The papal encroachments had roused both the clergy and laity of England. In the reign of Edward I. the legislature passed a statute, the source of all succeeding enactments against "provisors" in the court of Rome. This was followed up, in the 25th, 27th, and 38th years of Edward III., by more stringent regulations against the same abuse; and when Urban V. injudiciously fancied he could restore the subjection secured in the reign of John, the law passed in the 40th year of the same sovereign must have convinced him that the spirit of both king and people had altered very much since then. It was, however, the more famous *præmunire* statute (16 Richard II. c. 5), threatening outlawry, forfeiture of lands, goods, and liberty, to whoever should procure at Rome, or elsewhere, translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things affecting the king or his crown, that put a stop to provisors.—Blackstone, "Commentaries," i. 140.

† "Parliamentary History of England," i. 130.

a Catholic as ever professed allegiance to the Pope, he stoutly denies any real acknowledgment of the country being tributary to the papal see.*

The time seemed favourable for a great religious revolution in England. The Papacy was never in so feeble a state, and was almost entirely dependent on the king of France, whilst its flagrant corruption and tyranny were notorious all over Europe. Honest-hearted Catholics lamented or denounced these glaring evils, and bolder spirits again sought to establish a purer faith, undeterred by the ruin and destruction that had fallen on their predecessors in the same good work. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, a monk of Cologne gained numerous followers by preaching doctrines materially differing from those taught at Rome. He was burnt at the stake, and his name became a term of reproach not only for those who had adopted his sentiments, but for all who dared to deviate from the orthodox teaching. The "Lollards" were therefore shortly afterwards heard of out of Germany.

About this time a priest put himself prominently forward in exposing the practices of the mendicant friars, of which Parliament, as we have shown, were forced to take cognizance. They had become a social nuisance, and Cambridge and Oxford united in an effort to put them down.†

The conduct of the Pope went far to alienate the

* "Supplication of Souls," Works of Sir Thomas More, 296. Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," iv.

† The Wickliffe movement will be fully described in another chapter.

entire kingdom, and his opponents in England did not confine their eloquence to the friars; the mis-government at Rome, and the no less discreditable state of things at Avignon, were attacked with a like freedom. This appears to have attracted the attention of some one, probably a mendicant friar, who circulated a defence of the papal claim, and advocated the prodigious pretensions the Popes had been endeavouring to establish throughout the Catholic world. The cause was so unpopular, that the champion thought it prudent to conceal his name. He boldly stated that England had become forfeited to the Holy See, in consequence of failure in paying the tribute, and challenged the principal reformer by name to disprove this if he could.

The bishop of Ely had been among the first to recognize the ability the advocate of the universities had displayed. As a Dominican he regarded the mendicant orders as interlopers, and showed his feeling in the quarrel by exercising his influence as chancellor to secure for the bold priest the post of chaplain to the king. There cannot therefore be a doubt that he approved of the opinions the reformer was inculcating. It is not improbable that he was consulted respecting the answer the latter prepared for the Pope's anonymous champion.* This was moderate in tone but convincing in argument, and bears trace of having been over-looked by a prudent combined with an eminently sagacious judgment. It settled the question, at least to the satisfaction of the anti-papal party in England. The anonymous ultra-

* See his "Determinatio quædam Magistri Johannis Wyclyff de Dominicis contra unum Monachum."

montane did not venture to renew the contest. The popularity of his opponent increased with the commonalty, and John of Gaunt was among the most cordial of his numerous friends at court.

The chancellor continued to rise in favour with the king, who, in November, 1366, on the death of Archbishop Islip, nominated him to the vacancy. The Pope did not attempt any opposition; the king required that the archbishop-elect should renounce the papal pretensions that had been set aside by Parliament. This having publicly been done, he was, on the 25th of March following, enthroned at Canterbury with extraordinary splendour, more than four months after he had received the pall from the bishop of Bath. The new primate's ample resources were shown on this occasion, and the display made was considered far in advance of what had been attempted by the last two of his predecessors. The installation banquets of the chief prelates of England were still marvellous for their prodigality: the hospitable board must literally have groaned under the weight with which they were loaded.

As archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Langham increased the popularity he had acquired as abbot of Westminster and bishop of Ely. He was the most princely churchman of his time, and evidently delighted in acts of munificence. He took special care, too, to associate with him in the government, as well as in the prelacy, churchmen of a like spirit. This was never shown more signally than when, on the 10th of October, 1367, he consecrated William of Wykeham as bishop of Winchester, giving a banquet at his hall in the Lambeth manor-house in

honour of his friend, who, in the same year, succeeded him as chancellor. These distinguished men had similar tastes; and prominent among them was a love of architecture and the arts of design. In the improvements still proceeding at Westminster they were frequently associated, and the primate must have felt great interest in the various important works the bishop superintended at Winchester and elsewhere.

Archbishop Langham, notwithstanding his liberality, appears to have excited a considerable amount of ill-will in some of his clergy. It is probable that his predilection for the Dominicans gave offence. There was still much hostility between the wealthy old monastic orders and their begging brethren of recent origin; there was quite as much between the monks and the regular clergy; and it was a common practice of both to write scurrilous verses and circulate malicious stories at the expense of their opponents. In this way the archbishop was libelled in Latin hexameters;* but except in the circle for which they were written, their falsehood must have checked their circulation. Where Chaucer, Gower, and Minot flourished, a better production could have served the purpose, had there been a sufficient cause of attack.

An ominous accident is said to have occurred to the primate soon after entering upon his new duties,—the horse of his cross-bearer stumbled as he and his retinue were proceeding to visit one of the archiepiscopal manor-houses, when the cross was

* "Lætantur cœli, quia Simon transit ab Ely.
Cujus in adventum flent, in Kent, millia centum."

thrown to the ground and broken. As it was shortly made almost as perfect as ever, and the bearer escaped with still less damage, the circumstance need not have been considered of much moment; but in after-years, in a community where signs and omens were seen in the most trifling incidents, it was doubtless often referred to as a special warning. It did not make any impression on the archbishop, who commenced a visitation of his see, arranged the payment of tithes, diminished pluralities, and settled disputes wherever he went. The pluralities must have given him most trouble, for many of his clergy evidently had insatiable appetites for preferment, holding twenty or more benefices at one time.

Wilkins has printed a series of articles, said to have been drawn up by the primate for the benefit of both clergy and laity.* They expresed certain rather speculative religious opinions, and included a few social regulations, one of which denounced topers' challenges. Priests not unfrequently entered into such contests, and, either in consequence of a stronger head or a stronger stomach, succeeded in drinking their opponents under the table. Many a Latin verse has been written by them in a bibulous spirit, and tales had long been current among the profane that testified to their prowess at these prohibited *Scotales*. The jolly friar had been a familiar character before the age of Friar Tuck; and fabliaux, legends, and poems have preserved the traces of many a clerical worthy with similar attributes.

* "Concilia."

With regard to these "Constitutions," there seems to be a doubt of their having proceeded from Simon Langham. In three of the articles it is affirmed that the Virgin Mary and the saints are still subject to the penalty of sin; that punishment in hell is not eternal; that God could not create a faultless person; and that sinners, as well as devils, may repent and enjoy a state of future felicity. Such ideas are not to be found in the works of Wickliffe; that they were not adopted by his friend is clear from a letter addressed by the archbishop to the university of Oxford, desiring that such propositions should not be defended in the schools. The mendicant friars, to whom both were strongly opposed, were said to have adopted them.

Another priestly offender was John Ball, who seems to have established a reputation as a demagogue, and made use of the pulpit for political rather than religious purposes. The begging friars were also admonished for their meddlesomeness, and were told that they would not be permitted to preach without a proper license. About the same time the primate composed a hymn to St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, which has been much admired. The business of the archiepiscopate, however, could not have allowed him much leisure for poetry. This attempt was probably made at Avignon; while he sought to please the king by insisting that all his suffragans and priests should arm their retainers, that they might be ready for the defence of the country.

That he felt a profound interest in the new opinions that were either professed or discussed in almost all

religious or educational communities in England, there can be very little doubt. Of his orthodoxy, however, there could be quite as little question: like other enlightened churchmen, Archbishop Langham desired to see an end put to flagrant abuses in the Church.

The cardinals, whatever may have been the extent of their prosperity, seemed to enjoy it only by snatches. They were clad in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day; nevertheless, they seemed to live on the brink of a volcano. The republicanism of the Roman people was constantly rising in opposition to the priestly oligarchy; and, however effectually it was suppressed, was certain to make itself unpleasantly felt and seen on the first favourable opportunity. For nearlyseventy years the capital of Christianity had continued to exist without a resident pontiff; but its last dream of a revival of republican greatness had come to an end—a miserable end—when we recall the magnificent vision created by the first patriotic efforts of Cola di Rienzi. It is impossible not to join in the indignation of Petrarch when he refers to the terrible disappointment created by Rienzi's inability to play out the responsible part he had attempted.

The archbishop had contrived to maintain friendly relations with the court of Urban V., doubtless by means the efficacy of which was well known. Possibly the Pontiff was not acquainted with his share in the legislative proceedings that had so promptly disposed of the claims of the papal see. Perhaps he thought advantage might be gained by detaching from the king's service a statesman of

such ability. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that on the 27th of September, 1368, Simon Langham was appointed by his Holiness a cardinal priest of St. Sixtus.* The primate hastened to the king with the intelligence, but met a reception very different from the one he had anticipated. Edward III. bore in remembrance his quarrel with the Pope, and his chivalrous mind could not appreciate this apparent going over to his enemy, of his chief adviser. He was enraged too that any one should have taken the liberty to withdraw from his service one of his subjects without first asking his consent, and showed his displeasure by appropriating the revenue of the now vacant see.

The king did not stand alone in this disapprobation; the new-made cardinal not only lost his archbishopric, but his popularity. Every one left him, and his resources presently disappeared with his friends. The anti-papal feeling must have been strong indeed to have produced the isolation in which Simon Langham was forced to exist till he could obtain permission to leave the country. He did not depart till the end of February, 1369.

If the cardinal had calculated on gaining substantial support from Urban V., he must have been disappointed; for only a few days after his arrival at Avignon, the Pontiff died. His successor was a much younger man, a nephew of Clement VI., and assumed the pontifical name of Gregory XI. He appears to have been early impressed with a sense of the English cardinal's ability, and honoured him

* Cardella. Ciaconius.

with special marks of confidence and consideration.*

Cardinal Langham, however, had powerful attractions in his native land, that threw all the charms of Avignon into the shade. His friend William of Wykeham had been founding two colleges—one at Winchester, the other at Oxford,—and was acquiring deserved renown by the noble edifices he had constructed. Still more interesting to him were the important improvements going on at Westminster, in the place where he had passed the most pleasant season of his life. The monks were raising a subscription for a thorough renovation of the building,

* The Cardinal was not popular in England. In the "Daunce of Machabree," by Lydgate, the first person coupled with Death is the Pope, the second the Emperor, the third the Cardinal. To this couple the monk of St. Edmundsbury has given the following dialogue:—

"Death speaketh to the Cardinal.

Ye have been abashed it seemeth and in drede,
Syr Cardinal it sheweth by your chere;
But yet foreby ye follow shall in deed,
With other folke my daunce for to lere.
Your great aray all shall leaven here.
Your hat of red, your vesture of great cost,
All these thinges reckoned well in fear,
In great honour good advice is lost.

The Cardinal maketh answer.

I have great cause, certes, this is no faile,
To be abashed and greatly dread me.
Still, Death is come me sodainly to assaile,
What I hall never hereafter clothed be,
In grise nor ermine like unto my degree;
Mine hat of red lever eke in distresse,
By which I have learned well and see
How that all joy endeth in heavinesse."

to which he at once contributed six hundred marks; moreover, he expressed a wish to establish chantries, as well as to rebuild the western end of the abbey at his own cost.

With such claims on his consideration, the sentimental attractions of the land of Petrarch could not hold him long. He appears to have entertained no particular regard for the Pope, nor for the persons most in his confidence. If he ever had any influence with either, it had now totally disappeared. Strong, however, as his desire was to get back to his own friends and his own land, as soon as he could obtain permission from Edward III. and Pope Gregory (for which he had applied), it increased a thousand fold when he learned that the papal court were anxious for a removal to Rome. If his distance from England had been felt before, the idea of greatly increasing it became insupportable. He more urgently than ever prayed for permission to return.

Edward III. was not only succumbing to the infirmities of age, but was almost overwhelmed with difficulties, partly of a pecuniary, partly of a political nature.

The aged king of England, as soon as his trusty counsellor was beyond his reach, began to realize his loss. He wrote to him in the kindest terms, styling him "our dear and faithful friend the cardinal of Canterbury;" moreover, he permitted him to hold pluralities, such as the deanery of Lincoln, the treasurership and archdeaconry of Wells, and a prebend in York. This indulgence, however, was not approved of by the House of Commons.

They evidently were not so easily reconciled to the unpatriotic service Langham had now adopted.

The cardinal in 1372 was sent on a mission to the court of France, associated with Cardinal de Beauvais. Thence they proceeded to England with particular powers provided for them by a bull of Gregory XI. Ostensibly they came on a mission of peace; but much ecclesiastical business was to be accomplished under cover of the political. They found such a spirit awakened throughout the land that they prudently forbore carrying out the provisions of the bull they had brought with them.

When the cardinal entered the presence of his sovereign, he uncovered, while his coadjutor kept on his hood. The mark of respect was not lost upon the king, but it excited the censure of the Pope. The mission was not a quite fruitless one, as the cardinals were able to effect a reconciliation between the king of England and the court of Flanders.

Cardinal Langham was not cordially received anywhere in England, except by the good Benedictines at St. Peter's, Westminster, to whom he promised assistance in carrying on the improvements in the abbey; and by another brotherhood in Canterbury, to every member of which he presented a gold piece. He probably began to doubt the wisdom of abandoning his position in his own country.

On his return to Avignon, he was called to task for forgetting his own dignity as a Prince of the Church when in the presence of the king of England. He contrived to excuse himself; but the ultra-montane spirit was as powerful at Avignon as

it had been at Rome, and the English cardinal was regarded by the other members of the Sacred College as having disgraced his order. The Pope was evidently less hostile; for he elevated Langham to the dignity of cardinal-bishop of Prænesto, with the privilege of holding as many benefices as he could obtain.* This favour, however, did not reconcile him to expatriation. The pontifical court appears to have become estranged from him. The French influence that reigned there supreme could never have met with his approval, and all the charms of the locality faded before the ever-recurring home prospect. He maintained a constant correspondence with his friends at Westminster and at Canterbury, and, there is no doubt, experienced a great deal more interest in the least important of their proceedings than he could feel in the jealousies, intrigues, and rivalries of his brother cardinals.

A great council was held at Westminster, 1374, to consider a claim put forward by the Pope, Gregory XI., to a subsidy, as lord spiritual and paramount. The Black Prince was present, the archbishop of Canterbury (William Whittlesey), and the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as several friars. At first the former declared that the Pontiff was "dominus omnium;" and the day was passed in a discussion respecting the power of the two swords. The second day the primate acknowledged his inability to express an opinion. "Answer, you ass!" cried the prince angrily; "it is your duty to inform us all"—("Cui dixit Princeps, 'Asine, responde; tu deberes nos omnes informare.'") Thus pressed, he acknow-

* Fuller, "Church History" (Brewer), book ii. 307.

ledged that he did not desire the Pope to be lord there. Other ecclesiastics expressed similar opinions. The laity had previously made up their minds on the subject.*

The object of his ambition was the tiara; but he presently discovered that as he was not a Frenchman, he had scarcely the most remote chance of success. He seemed then to have but one wish—to return to England.

The duke of Lancaster had taken the direction of public affairs, and his management created great discontent. In the year 1376 Parliament had refused to grant a subsidy, unless certain of the barons and of the prelates, in whom they had confidence, assisted in their deliberations. This was conceded; but then came the prosecution of some of the creatures of John of Gaunt, who had amassed fortunes dishonestly. At last attention was paid to the prayer of the king's former counsellor, and he received a gracious permission to return. With the king's letter, he sought the Pope, and, greatly to his gratification, found that no obstacle would be placed in the way of his departure.

He was impatient to be gone; the fair objects in the Avignon prospect,—the bright Rhone, and the smiling valley through which it flowed, the brilliant group of palaces, churches, orchards, and gardens, which he had at first gazed on with intense admiration, grew thoroughly distasteful to him; he was eager to be back amongst the Dominicans, with whom he had entered upon his ecclesiastical career, and wrote to the abbot to prepare a lodging. His heart

* "Eulogium Historiarum sui Temporis," Haydon, iii. 336.

seemed engrossed with the idea of making the dear old place a model of architectural beauty; and with that object he consulted the most skilful artificers to be found in the city, several of whom he pressed into the service. While absorbed in these pursuits, and anticipating the happiness in store for him, the cardinal was suddenly struck with paralysis, and died two days later, on the 22nd of July, 1376.

With his accustomed liberality he had largely contributed to the erection of a church at Avignon for the Carthusians, and there he was buried; but all his remaining property he left for carrying out his improvements in Westminster Abbey, where, three years later, a fitting tomb having been erected in St. Benet's Chapel, he was reinterred with impressive solemnity.

Towards the close of the reign of Edward III. the English clergy addressed to Parliament a joint remonstrance on the intolerable exactions of the See of Rome. In stating their grievances, they do not appear to have minced matters; indeed no assemblage of laymen could have mentioned such things with less reserve. They said, "God hath given his sheep to the Pope to be pastured, and not shorn or shaven; that lay patrons perceiving this simony and covetousness of the Pope, do thereby learn to sell their benefices to beasts, no otherwise than as Christ was sold to the Jews. That there is none so rich a prince in Christendom who hath the fourth part of so much treasure as the Pope hath out of this realm, for churches, *most sinfully*."

Further on it is stated "that cardinals and other aliens remaining at the court of Rome, whereof one

cardinal is a dean of York, another of Salisbury, another of Lincoln, another archdeacon of Canterbury, another archdeacon of Durham, another archdeacon of Suffolk, another archdeacon of York, another prebendary of Thame and Nassington, another prebendary of York, in the diocese of York, have divers others, the best dignities in England, and have sent over yearly unto them twenty thousand marks over and above that which English brokers lying here have."

After an enumeration of the various ways in which the English Church is plundered, the petitioners assert that the Pope this year had created twelve new cardinals, making thirty in all, though twelve was the original number; and all the thirty, they complained, except two or three, were the king's enemies. At the end the petitioners prayed that no Englishman should be employed by the Pope as collector, or reside at Rome in any capacity.*

The jubilee of the year 1300 had proved so profitable to the court of Rome, that they could not think of waiting the interval fixed for its recurrence. Another was declared to take place in half that time, and the year 1350 was rendered memorable by the crowd of pilgrims who visited the Holy City for the purpose of securing the advantages. The Pope had been permitted to send four cardinals to reform the government of the city, and appoint his own senators. The Pontiff and the remainder of the cardinals continued at Avignon. Innocent VI. sent into Italy Cardinal Egidio, an able administrator, negotiator, and

* Cotton's "Exact Abridgment of the Records."

general, who restored the influence of the Pope to so great an extent that shortly afterwards Urban V. visited Rome with the Emperor. The stay of both was short. Cardinal Egidio died, and the Italian states soon broke out again into open warfare.

It was a grand day for the Italian cardinals when Urban V., in 1367, turned his back upon the pleasures of Avignon, and commenced his journey to Rome. The French cardinals, however, did not accompany his Holiness: they were, or thought themselves, good Catholics at heart, but were French to the backbone. They had been taught that the Papacy was a French fief, and the Pope a French vassal, and they displayed their patriotism a few years later by electing an anti-Pope, under whom they proposed continuing with increased enjoyment their prized indulgences at Avignon.

In a short time there was a papal court flourishing at the same time in two places,—the one at Rome under the protection of the Emperor, who rejoiced at the clever way in which he had contrived to sever the papal and French union, and another at Avignon, directed by the king of France, who equally rejoiced at the success of his scheme to annoy his revolted ally.

The conflicts of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions raged during a considerable portion of the fourteenth century, and Pope and cardinals suffered as the balance of victory turned against them; not only states were set against states, but leagues against leagues; and it was no unusual thing, in the intensity of the antagonism thus created, for a cardinal to turn his hat into a helmet, and a

bishop his pastoral staff into a spear. The Church had long been as much a military as a religious power, and its princes were now forced to wear armour and command contingents. It was not easy to recognize the priest when performing the duties of a commander, and his actions, in many instances, were more unclerical than his garments. It so chanced that these soldiers did the Pope but indifferent service, and much of the pontifical possessions fell one by one into the hands of successful military adventurers.

It was at this period that the inevitable Englishman, in the person of that brilliant soldier of fortune John Hawkwood, made his name renowned throughout Italy as a commander of a dreaded band of "free companies." He was in the service of any one who could pay him sufficiently; and when no paymaster could be found, proceeded to wage war on his own account. After having been employed by the Pope, he made an attack upon Faenza when he found the Church unable to reward his services, and plundered that city without mercy. Gregory XI. was now hard pressed, so hard pressed, indeed, that he was forced to appeal for pecuniary assistance to the prelates of the Anglican Church. He had not long taken up his residence in Rome when he felt extremely desirous of returning to Avignon. He died, however, with his wish ungratified.

CHAPTER VII.

ADAM ESTON, CARDINAL PRIEST.

A Benedictine at Norwich—Bishop of London—is created a Cardinal Priest—Rome and Avignon—Conspiracy of the Cardinals against Urban VI.—Cardinal Eston implicated—is saved by the Interposition of Edward III.—Another Jubilee and Pilgrimage—Archbishop Arundel—Death of Cardinal Eston—Rise of Archbishop Courtney—his Court at St. Paul's—Wickliffe supported by the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy—Courtney made Chancellor—is supposed to have been created a Cardinal—Doubtful Cardinals of the Fourteenth Century.

THE origin of Adam Eston was humble. He entered the Benedictine monastery at Norwich, where he was celebrated for his piety and love of scientific study. The profession of a recluse was still not only honourable but profitable. In due time Brother Adam became known at court as well as at Oxford, and was presently promoted to be chancellor of the university and bishop of London. He enjoyed the favour of Edward III., and appears to have distinguished himself as a prelate. Being constantly at court, he possessed opportunities of cultivating a good understanding with the dispensers of patronage, nor did he fail to evince his zeal for furthering the policy of the court of Rome. The Pope and cardinals soon showed that they were well disposed towards him, and at the application

of the king, Urban VI., in September, 1378, created him cardinal priest of St. Cecilia.

Urban VI. was acknowledged everywhere except in France, where Clement VII. exercised papal authority. A contested pontificate was a scandal to all Christendom; but the sovereigns who desired to make either of the rivals useful in working out their designs against each other, cared nothing for the Church—whether the Pontiffs cared very much more, is an open question. The system that could produce such results, found able challengers of its divine origin; nevertheless the cardinals at Rome were kept constantly employed heaping anathemas upon those at Avignon, while the latter exercised the same industry in execrating their Roman brethren.

The mischief caused by conflicting interests in the College of Cardinals may be well illustrated by a reference to the intriguing and plotting carried on by them when opposition popes have been elected. This seems to have reached its climax when, under the names of Urban VI. and Clement VII., Italian and French pontiffs divided the suffrages of much-scandalized Christendom. The former remained at Rome, and displayed so despotic a temper, that the members of the college who had carried his election determined to get rid of him. The scruples which ordinary Catholics might entertain respecting the sacredness of the person of the head of the Apostolic Church, did not, it is clear, affect them in the slightest degree. They regarded the successor of St Peter as dangerous, and, like common-place conspirators, entered into a league to effect his destruction.

It is charity to believe that Urban VI. was insane,

so stern was his severity, so savage his cruelty. The cardinals who remained with him, having in vain advised him to adopt moderate measures, at last consulted an eminent lawyer as to the possibility of restraining him by the appointment of one or more directing counsellors. Cardinal Orsini betrayed his associates, Di Sangro, San Sabina, Donati, San Cecilia (Adam Eston), and Eleazar, bishop of Rieti. One confessed, while under torture, that they had intended to seize the Pontiff, pronounce him a heretic, and condemn him to the stake. The others denied this, but were also put to the rack, and treated with monstrous barbarity. Urban fled from Nocera, where he was besieged, to Genoa, carrying his prisoners with him. Some accounts state that, with one exception, they were murdered in prison; others aver that they were confined in sacks and thrown into the sea. The English cardinal alone escaped.*

Adam Eston was one of the tortured cardinals, and Edward III. becoming acquainted with his perilous position, sent in 1386 a communication to Urban requesting his release. The king of England had been his most zealous supporter, and he could not afford to quarrel with him. The English cardinal therefore was released.

Urban's ferocity drove from him some of the Italian Princes of the Church,† and the English car-

* Muratori, sub anno 1385.

† The Cardinal de Prato, in an access of ecclesiastical indignation, publicly burned the red hat bestowed on him by Urban VI., and received another from the anti-pope; but subsequently quitted Avignon for Rome, apparently disposing of his stately head-cover-

dinal had at least equal provocation to abandon him. It may, however, be inferred from a bull of Boniface IX., that he did not go to Avignon; but at the death of Urban, October 13, 1389, joined the court of his successor, who wrote, March 15, 1391, an urgent appeal to the English government in his behalf, against certain intruders into benefices held by Cardinal Eston in York. The papal influence happened to be very weak just then,—all that could be got from the country for the Pope's exchequer for this year amounting only to between two and three hundred pounds. The prohibitory statutes, and the progress of the new opinions of religion, account for so great a diminution of Catholic zeal.

Notwithstanding that a pope still survived, acknowledged by France and Spain, as well as by Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, the cardinals in Italy elected another, a young Neapolitan, who assumed the appellation of Boniface IX. In his election Cardinal Eston assisted, in the year 1389.* This pontiff proved less cruel than his predecessor, but was ignorant and avaricious. He did not venture to torture his cardinals; he contented himself with fleecing the Catholic world as thoroughly as the Italian papal influence would permit; where the French influence extended, his shears had no effect.

The pontifical exchequer continued empty, and throughout Rome all seemed ruin and destitution; but faith was an inexhaustible resource, and the most extravagant demand upon it was sure to be honoured.

ing by the way, and acquired another at the hands of Boniface IX. He obtained the nickname of "the triple-hatted."—Ciaconius, i. 637

* Ciaconius, i. 1032.

To proclaim a jubilee was to fill the Pope's coffers to overflowing. Pilgrimage to Rome had been a perennial Pactolus, but there were occasions when the spring became an ocean. Every hundred years the jubilee had been repeated, and then European Christianity flocked into the city of the Seven Hills, till thousands were obliged to be content with lodging among the ancient tombs and monuments. Urban VI. was not content to wait the appointed term; when half of it had passed, he proclaimed another jubilee, and was well content with the result. Boniface IX. discovered that thirty-three years was the proper interval, and the good Catholics responded to the appeal with their customary generosity. England, to show contempt for the French pope, produced troops of pilgrims, and Cardinal Eston had no reason to be ashamed of his countrymen's deficiency of zeal or of liberality.

In every church, abbey, or sacred building of any kind, with special attractions for the devout, a table was invariably prepared near the altar, covered with scarlet cloth, where the offerings of the faithful were received. Here, too, might be had indulgences and pardons, and privileges of innumerable kinds, to meet the wants of all classes of sinners, and of every degree of sin. In and out flowed a continuous current of sinful humanity, male and female, young and old, and their knees wore dents in the hard stone on which they knelt before images of peculiar sanctity, and their lips would have been equally destructive on relics of still greater holiness had they been permitted to kiss them without the intervention of a protective covering.

It was while the English cardinal was attached to the court of Rome that the grand event, the glorious financial resource, the jubilee of 1390 (this was, if not the last, the newest abbreviation) occurred, when the ancient city was thronged with worshippers from Poland, from Hungary, from the German empire, and from England,—all of whom contributed, as far as their means permitted, to replenish the exhausted treasury of the Pope. The supply, however, was soon absorbed, and Boniface IX. had recourse to a system of simoniacal abuse that threw the worst operations of his predecessors in this direction into the shade. He tripled the annates, sold every clerical post that had a value, and fleeced the wealthy prelates of a considerable portion of their acquisitions. When money could not be obtained for a benefice, this rapacious trader would accept live stock, agricultural produce, or anything for which a market could be found. His greediness was only exceeded by his dishonesty, for he was not to be bound by any arrangement, reselling what he had already sold, and revoking grants for which he had exacted a liberal payment.*

It was to Boniface that, towards the close of the century, Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded when exiled by Richard II., and Eston was probably among the cardinals whose cordiality he mentions in a letter to his chapter at Canterbury.

* "Of which rose much slander and obloquy against the Church, for they said plainly that it was no more trust to the Pope's writing than to a dog's tail; for as oft as he would gather money, so often would he annul old graces and grant new."—Copgrave, "Chronicle of England," 281.

Respecting the coming revolution, in which he was prominently to figure, it is not likely that he sought counsel in that quarter, though the young king had fewer friends in Rome even than he had in England; his French consort and French predilections were not more favourably considered by English ecclesiastics than by Italians; but Boniface and his government thought it prudent to temporize, and at the king's instigation the primate was obliged to leave Rome.

Cardinal Eston remained, fulfilling various duties confided to him by Boniface IX.,—an observer of the memorable events of his pontificate that occurred in the greater portion of the last decade of the fourteenth century. There were at this time two English cardinals in the college, but he had by far the larger share in the administration of the Papacy. His treatment at Nocera must have proved to him that his position was as full of peril as of honour; but during his subsequent career he evidently kept clear of conspiracies.

He survived till 1398, when he died at Rome. Cardinal Eston was the author of numerous works.* Ciaconius has preserved a long list, averring that he expired on the 13th of October, 1397; and he gives his epitaph.†

An ecclesiastical contemporary claims a particular notice. William was the fourth son of Hugh Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who married Margaret, granddaughter of Edward I.; her mother being the

* P. Tregelbauer, "Della Storia Letteraria Benedettina," iii. 187. Cardella, ii. 283.

† Ciaconius, i. 982.

king's daughter Elizabeth, wife of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex. A younger son, born in the year 1341, of so exalted a family, in the last half of the fourteenth century was certain of a handsome provision. Oxford, as usual, had the charge of his pupilage; and when he had passed the ordinary course, he was ordained a priest; soon after which, to prove that his lines were laid in pleasant ecclesiastical places, he was appointed to prebends in the cathedrals of Bath, Exeter, and York. He is supposed to have made considerable advance in scholarship, for, in 1369, when only twenty-eight years old, he was elevated to the bishopric of Hereford, and six years later to the more important see of London. But merit had less to do with such elevations than influence at the courts of Edward III. and the Pope.

That he had already come to an understanding with Rome is evident from the decided line he took to support the papal authority in England. Only a year after having secured this rank in the Church, at a synod held in London, he ventured openly to oppose the king's demand for a subsidy. This was not likely to pass unnoticed with such a sovereign. The bishop shortly afterwards betrayed his predilections by publishing a bull of Pope Gregory; and the lawyers were immediately set to work to call him to account for the breach of the law. He was summoned into the court of Chancery for doing this without asking the king's consent, and only escaped forfeiture of all his goods by sending one of his officials to Paul's Cross, where the document had been read, to disclaim having had anything to do

with it. The people had been excited by its publication to acts of plunder and violence against certain foreign merchants whom the Pope had put under ban. The bishop's officer now mounted the cross, and thus addressed the citizens :—

"My lord said nothing about the interdict. It is strange you should misunderstand, who hear so many sermons from this place."*

The congregation must have been not a little mystified by this singular disclaimer; but the prudent bishop saved his forfeited temporalities.

His zeal for the Papacy was subsequently manifested by the prominent part he played against Wickliffe, whose growing popularity was regarded by the orthodox prelates with as much alarm as annoyance. The reformer was favoured by several persons of high influence; and when he was cited to the bishop's court at St. Paul's, they accompanied him, apparently in somewhat boisterous fashion. As one was the king's son and another the Earl Marshal, their appearance in court was particularly unwelcome to the presiding judge. The following animated interpellation is said to have occurred :—

Bishop Courtney.—Lord Percy ! If I had known beforehand what masteries you would have kept, I would have stopped you out from coming hither.

Duke of Lancaster.—He shall keep such masteries here, though you say nay.

Lord Percy.—Wickliffe, sit down; for you have many things to answer to, and therefore have need of a soft seat.

Bishop Courtney.—It is unreasonable that one

* Wharton, "Historia de Episcopis et Decanis, &c., Londinensibus."

cited before his ordinary should sit down during his answer. He shall stand!

Duke of Lancaster.—The Lord Percy's motion for Wickliffe is but reasonable. And as for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you only, but of all the prelacy in England. Thou bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.

Bishop Courtney.—My confidence is not in my parents, but only in God, in whom I trust; by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

Duke of Lancaster.—Rather than take these words at the bishop's hands, I'll pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church!*

The threat was muttered, but was overheard, and caused a riot in favour of the prelate. It would have ended in the destruction of the duke's palace in the Savoy, had not the former hastened to the spot, and calmed the tumult by his exhortations.†

The diffusion of the new opinions alarmed the Pope, and Bishop Courtney was directed to employ every means at his disposal for their suppression. About two years afterwards, according to certain authorities,† his zeal was stimulated by the offer of the dignity of cardinal. There is some doubt about his acceptance; probably he thought it prudent to decline, as it must have increased his unpopu-

* Fox, "Acts and Monuments."

† Harpsfield, "Hist. Wickliff," "Hist. Eccles. Angl." Walsingham, "Hist. Angl."

‡ Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ." "Biographia Britannica."

larity. He contrived to regain the king's confidence, for he was promoted to the important post of chancellor in the year 1381, in which year he was permitted to succeed Archbishop Sudbury in the metropolitan see of Canterbury.

It demanded no slight degree of tact to steer a course between the Pope and the king at this juncture, and Courtney certainly exhibited much judgment in endeavouring to maintain friendly relations with both to the close of the long reign of Edward III., and during the inglorious career of his successor. That he was desirous of displaying moderation in dealing with such conflicting interests, is clear from the command he issued to his officers to leave adultery and other crimes to be dealt with by the king's courts; while to conciliate the papal court, he assembled a synod at Oxford that condemned the opinions of Wickliffe as heretical. For several years he alternately threw his influence into the scale for the Crown and the Papacy. His real sentiments, however, were more than suspected, which caused the Parliament in 1392 to pass the statute known as *Præmunire*. He survived this but four years.

There were several other churchmen, by some writers included in the creations of this century. Of these, Arnold de Cantelupe, whom we find difficult to identify. Of this family, Thomas was bishop of Hereford, and Walter bishop of Worcester. Leonardus Guercinus and William Macclesfield are equally unknown to fame. Of his reputed successor, Walter Winterton, we learn that he was born at Salisbury, and having devoted himself to study, obtained great repute as a poet, philosopher, and

theologian.* One authority states William Macclesfield to have belonged to the order of Dominicans, and that he was a celebrated professor at Oxford; moreover, that in December, 1303, he was created by Benedict XI., in Rome, cardinal priest.

"Gualtero Winterburn o Winktemburn," according to Moroni, was a member of the Preaching Friars, a doctor of philosophy, a profound theologian, and counsellor as well as confessor to Edward I. His high reputation induced Benedict XI. (February 11, 1301) to create him cardinal di San Sabina. In the article "Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa," occurs the following reference to him:—"Prima della constituzione di Eugenio IV. sussistendo, come accennammo l' esclusione de' cardinali colla bocca chiusa di concurrere co' loro suffragi alla elezione del Papa, si ha che nel 1304, in morte di Benedetto XI. rimase di cardinal d' Inghilterra Winterburn colla bocca chiusa, e gli fu aperta dal Cardinal Decano autorizzato in un col voto di tutto di Sagro Collegio." He wrote much on theology, and was selected by Clement V. to go as legate to France to examine into the doctrines of a brother of the Minorites that had created much excitement amongst the Franciscans. He appears to have died at Geneva, while proceeding on his mission, in the year 1306, and was there buried, in the church of the Dominicans, whence his corpse was forwarded to England for re-interment.†

Of "Sartorius Wallensis," who flourished later, very little information is to be obtained, beyond the

* Cardella, tom. ii. 74. Ciaconius, i. 827.

† "Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica," c. iii. 247.

statement that he was made a cardinal in 1361 at Avignon.

Grèmoaldus de Gresant, or Gremoardi, is described as being a deacon of the metropolitan church of York; subsequently to have obtained preferment in Gascony, and to have become a monk of the monastery of St. Rufo. He was in 1366 created cardinal priest by Urban V., who gave him several appointments, took him to Italy the following year, and employed him to carry the pallium to the archbishop of Magdeburg. Cardella mentions his princely liberality in the foundation of religious houses. The emperor Charles IV. is said to have honoured the cardinal with a particular mark of distinction. He returned to Avignon, and there died in 1378.

There is also a John Thoresby included by Godwin in his list of English cardinals.*

* Fantoni, "Dell' Storia di Avignone," i. 2. Cardella, ii. 210. Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ, &c."

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAUCER A PROMOTER OF THE PRE-LUTHERAN REFORMATION.

Niggardly Disposal of Pontifical Offices to Englishmen—Undue Influence of Italian Families—Unpopularity of the Papal System in England—Idealized Christianity—Yearnings after a Religious Life—Respect shown to Hermits—Popularity of Pilgrimages to their Cells—English Impatience of Roman Domination—Geoffrey Chaucer—His Presumed Object in Writing the "Canterbury Tales"—Clerical Portraits—The Monk—The Friar—The Sumpnour—The Pardoner—The Canon—The Prioress—The Priest—Suggestions as to the Source of the Priest's Tale—Anti-Papal Feeling abroad—State of Rome—The Bird of Ill-omen—Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris—His Views of Church Reform—Oxford—Chaucer's Popularity after his Death favours the Reform Movement.

NEARLY two centuries and a half had elapsed since an English pope was elected to fill the chair of St. Peter. His pontificate had been in every way honourable, and if he had not thoroughly realized the assumption of being "Vicar of Christ," it was solely because this was scarcely to be expected from any combination of human virtue and intelligence. Nevertheless a similar compliment to his nation was never repeated. There were Spanish, German, French, and Italian pontiffs in more or less abundance—a very large majority of the latter; but of English one only. More than one hundred

successors of the Apostle, of different nationalities, had flourished before the land blessed with the mission of St. Augustine was acknowledged to have produced a priest worthy of being placed at the head of the Church for which he had laboured with such signal success. Since his death about as many popes have ruled the Christian world, but not one of them came from the birthplace of Adrian IV.

This exclusion was carried out in other papal dignities; for instance in the Sacred College there never was an English interest that could be compared with the German, the French, or the Italian interest. The dignity had become more prized; it was eagerly sought; but of late years it had with rare exceptions been shared by ecclesiastics of the Gallican and Roman Churches. During the seventy years' transportation of the pontifical court to Avignon the former were preferred; but while the Papacy remained at home, to a much larger extent the latter were favoured. So much was this the case that the principal Roman families enjoyed something very like a monopoly of the higher dignities. They appear to have furnished popes *ad libitum*, and have become cardinals without end. Whilst the entire English nation were obliged to be content with one pontiff and a dozen or so of Princes of the Church, the Orsini and Colonnesi could boast of seven popes and cardinals by scores.

The latter dignity had come to be looked upon as peculiarly Italian, and the patrician houses rivalled each other in the number of their members by whom it had been secured. This has made it of profound interest in the literature of the country, where

everything in the slightest degree connected with it will be found elaborately detailed.*

The other pontifical offices were as grudgingly bestowed on Anglican candidates. Robert le Poule was the only English chancellor till the year 1763; and Bosio Breakspear never had a successor of his own nation, either as Camerlengo Prefect or Custodian of Castello San Angelo. We have looked in vain for an Englishman in any other of the principal posts in the papal court. Under such circumstances, it is not a matter of surprise if English ecclesiastics, knowing the prodigious expense the institution had for ages been to their country, should have become dissatisfied with the infinitesimal share of its advantages they were permitted to receive, notwithstanding the free use of English benefices and dignities by the court of Rome.

The feeling against the pontifical system in England had other and deeper sources. The

* Such information will be found in Moroni, "Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica," articles "Berretta Cardinalizia," "Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa," "Camera," "Cancellarinano," "Cappa," "Capella," "Capello Cardinalizio," "Porpora," &c. &c. They contain a history of the origin of cardinals, dissertations on their number, residences, quality, and state; descriptions of the ceremonies employed in their creation, with their costume, prerogatives, pre-eminence, and privileges; an account of their qualifications and duties, their precedence in the Sacred College, insignia, decorations, income, and their duties during the election of a pontiff. The writer, who was a member of the establishment of Gregory XVI., and therefore likely to be familiar with all the pontifical arrangements, then enumerates the more celebrated cardinals (not an Englishman in the list), and concludes with a list of works (all Italian) that have been published on the subject.

intelligence of the age was so strongly opposed to its continuance that churchmen holding the highest ecclesiastical appointments had one after another protested against its evils. To all able to take an unprejudiced view of the subject, no contrast could appear more glaring than the original intentions of the Papacy and its later administration. The head of the Christian Church frequently did not possess a single Christian attribute; his characteristics were notoriously the reverse of apostolic, his policy was often denounced as that of Antichrist. His select council maintained notions of government remarkable only for their intense worldliness. The preservation or expansion of the temporal power of the Pope seemed their first consideration; and in their efforts to effect this, all that assumed to be spiritual, and ought to have been sacred in the pontifical office, was dragged through the mire of the most selfish of human quarrels.

The educated classes of the Christian community had been taught that there were three conditions of life after death. The first was that of eternal happiness. It was to be realized in the kingdom of heaven, where existed a spiritual aristocracy, divided into seraphim, cherubim, and thrones; dominations, virtues, powers; principalities, archangels, angels. These triads were presided over by the Virgin Mary, not only as queen, but as intercessor between Christians and her Divine Son. The First Person of the Trinity was shrouded in sublime obscurity, and the Third present only as a pervading influence. Such was the celestial host. Next came the beatified—patriarchs, prophets, saints, and martyrs,

as well as all good Catholics to whom the founder of the Apostolic Church, and his papal successors as inheritors of the keys, had afforded the privilege of admission.

The second state of life after death was that of "purgatory," a condition of endurance for sinners not sufficiently vile for eternal punishment; whence escape to bliss was always possible by the interposition of the Church. Here those who when in the flesh were rich and powerful, were forced to remain till their relatives could procure such a number of masses or other sacred services as were considered to be sufficient for the redemption of their souls. The third and last state was that of everlasting damnation, as existing in the region of intolerable torture, the abode of devils, the unquenchable fire of hell. But even in this terrible position the miserable soul was not absolutely deprived of hope. The power of the keys to loose and bind was in the successor of St. Peter, and a sufficient representation at Rome might in due course lead to its transmission to a secondary state of punishment, there to receive divine absolution; and thence eventually to be called to partake of eternal bliss.

It is not necessary to point out how much of this arrangement of final rewards and punishments is ideal—the creation of ecstatics and mystics; let it suffice that it had become the belief of Christendom, and that the more religious-minded were constantly occupied with the consideration of the best means of avoiding the penalty of sin and insuring the recompense of virtue. The town populations of England were differently circumstanced to those of rural

districts. In the former there were either cathedrals or churches ministered to by clerical communities more or less active, and imposing processions, solemn services, and impressive ceremonies were constantly reminding them of their spiritual obligations. In the quiet and scattered hamlets—unless a monastery existed in the immediate neighbourhood—the action of the Church was much less direct, and the religious wants of the people were left to the parish priest, an intrusive mendicant friar, or a resident hermit.

The yearnings after a religious life frequently led the rural Christian to invest with superhuman virtues any recluse who had found a cell in an adjoining forest, and confined his diet to the herbs which grew around him and the spring that flowed at his feet. He was accredited with angelic powers, his counsel was considered to have a divine inspiration, and his prayers to bring the benediction of Heaven. Matron and maid threaded the winding path that led to the embowered hermitage and regarded its frieze-clad inmate with more veneration than they had ever experienced in the presence of their feudal lord. In truth, the personal appearance of the shaggy, hirsute, cowled figure in the coarse gown corded with the instrument of terrible discipline, with gaunt cheeks and sunken eyes, betraying the rigour of self-mortification, was far more impressive than that of priest or layman, however exalted or formidable.

The simplicity of his teaching was in character with that of his life, and to this he owed much of his popularity. Indeed it is this confidence in

truths easy to be understood that established the great religious movements of the illiterate; such as "the poor men of Lyons," &c. The uneducated mind might be dazzled by the glories of the celestial hierarchy, and terrified by the horrors of devil-torture; but it surrendered its faith, its worship, and its affections to matters of religious belief it could most readily appreciate. Nothing, therefore, was easier than that the anchorite should be venerated as a saint, and that in due course his purity of life, his piety and self-denial, added to a fair amount of kindliness of nature, should invest his retreat with a sacredness that would attract many a succeeding generation to make a visit to it a religious obligation.

Pilgrimages to the shrines of local saints had for centuries been the most attractive of observances—the middle and higher classes joining in them with as much zest as the commonalty. They were a favourite resource for the remission of sins; but there is reason for believing that they rather favoured the progress of good-fellowship, while carried out as holiday enjoyments for both sexes. The unrivalled picture transmitted to us of the goodly company that started from the Tabard Inn at Southwark has left us no room to mistake the nature and tendency of these popular journeys. Pleasant they were, out of doubt; but the pilgrims who cultivated a genuine sense of religion must have longed for an incentive to holy living of less questionable sanctity.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the Norman and the Saxon element in the population

of England, had amalgamated into a nationality possessed of no less enterprise than intelligence. The former had been displayed in many a glorious field in France; the latter was being developed in the creation of a literature that had the recommendation of being thoroughly Anglican. There was decidedly an English tone of thought in its poetry and in its prose; equally decided was the English tone of thought expressed in the spirit of the people. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the religion of the nation betrayed indications of desiring to become equally English.

Here and there in the heart of this chivalrous England, that had added almost an entire continental kingdom to its insular territory, were heard questionings as to the spiritual authority exercised by the city of the dead Cæsars over a country increasing in greatness under the rule of living Plantagenets. Schoolmen looked into the literature of the Church without discovering any warrant for a Roman domination of intellect or faith; and stalwart knights, who had won many fair provinces defended by the bravest soldiers of a French sovereign, began to speculate on the possibility of overthrowing a French pope.

Nevertheless the Roman influence pervaded Church and State to so prodigious an extent as apparently to defy this impatience of restraint. Over the entire surface of the country, zealous members of the priesthood were to be found in such numbers, and with so perfect an organization, as apparently to render a conflict hopeless. The hierarchy were possessed of extraordinary wealth

and influence, and the lower ranks of the clergy were equally zealous supporters of the Papacy. They laughed at the idea of opposition to the Pope, were ready to threaten a repetition of the interdict that had proved so disastrous in the reign of John, or another such invasion as had given over the non-payers of Peter's pence to the tender mercy of William of Normandy. The prelates and the secular clergy, the great monasteries, the innumerable fraternities of mendicant friars, were never so convinced of the perfection of the papal system. They would not entertain any notion of change. They ridiculed the idea of a reformation.

Nevertheless it became clear that the abuses of the system were being more and more brought under popular observation. It was the national literature which produced their exposure in a form that gradually created a very powerful feeling against them. Geoffrey Chaucer, who held employment in the royal household, was a poet possessed of qualities hitherto unknown in English composition; prominent among which was a talent for humorous description, that could not fail to amuse every class of readers. He had seen society in all its phases, and was well read in ancient and modern literature. Having composed many poems of great merit, apparently impressed with the spirit then developing itself in the country, he entertained the idea of representing one of those remarkable social gatherings, known as pilgrimages, for the purpose of giving his countrymen a group of portraits of the principal religious personages who flourished in middle-class life. They

illustrated the evils of a bad system with singular felicity.

The first in the clerical gallery is "The Monk," who is, as the representative of the elder monastic orders, as truthfully as he is genially portrayed. The reader beholds his prepossessing appearance, and becomes acquainted with those tendencies to secular foppery and worldly enjoyments that had constantly provoked repressive "constitutions," after an episcopal visitation. He is introduced as a good horseman, and lover of field sports, keeping a superior stud, and delighting in riding a steed handsomely caparisoned:—

> "A monk there was, a fair for the masterie,
> An out-rider that loved venerie,
> A manly man to be an abbot able.
> Full many a dainty horse had he in stable,
> And when he rode, men might his bridle hear,
> Gingle in a whistling wind so clear.
> And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell,
> Thereas the lord was keeper of the selle."

This priestly custom of riding with bells hung about the trappings, had excited the indignation of the poet's contemporary, the great religious reformer, who denounces the "fair horse, and jolly and gay saddles, and bridles ringing by the way;" but they had been condemned by ecclesiastical legislation years before. The gay recluse, however, evidently set that and all other rules at defiance:—

> "The rule of St. Maure and of St. Benet,
> Because that it was old and sounded strait,
> This ilke monk let old things pass,
> And held after the new world the space.

He gave not of that text a pulled hen,
That said that hunters been none holy men;
Nor that a monk when he is cloisterless,
Is likened to a fish that is waterless.
That is to say, a monk out of his cloister;
But this text held to be not worth an oyster!"

The more ancient religious houses were established under the rigid religious rule of the sainted founders, named by the poet; but these he declares were disdained by modern recluses, who, moreover, treated with contempt the passage in "Gratian's Decretal:" "Sicut piscis sine aqua caret vita, ita sine monasterio monachus." Such ecclesiastical fish out of water could apparently float in wine; and as to labouring, there was much more agreeable work for them to do out of the monastery than in it. The secret reformer slily adds:—

"And I said his opinion was good,
Why should he study and make himself wood,
Upon a book in cloister always to pour,
Or swink with his hands and labour,
As Austin bids? How shall the world be served?
Let Austin have his swink to him reserved.
Therefore he was a pricasour* aright,
Greyhounds he had as swift as fowls in flight:
Of pricking and of hunting for the hare,
Was all his lust, for no cost would he spare."

It should be remembered that this description comes from one who enjoyed during a long and active life the best opportunities for observation. Chaucer was no doubt equally accurate in his costume.

* A hard rider.

"I saw his sleeve purfled at the hand
With gris, and that the finest in the land;
And for to fasten his hood under his chin,
He had of gold y-wrought a curious pin.
A love-knot in the greater end there was.
His head was bald, and shone as any glass,
And eke his face, as he had been anoint.
He was a lord full fat and in good point;
His eyes steep, and rolling in his head,
That seemed as a furnace of lead;
His boots souple, his horse in great estate—
Now, certainly, he was a fair prelate.
He was not pale as a for-pined* ghost;
A fat swan loved he best of any roast."

In short, the supposed ascetic, professing to live a life of meditation, of fasting and prayer, was intensely a man of the world, devoted to the pleasures of the table and the chase. There is evidently no mistake in the good father's characteristics, for he is subsequently addressed by a brother pilgrim :—

"By my troth, I cannot your name,
Whether shall I call you my lord Dan Johan,
Or Dan Thomas, or else Dan Albon?
Of what house be ye by your fader kin?
I vow to God thou hast a full fair skin,
It is a gentle pasture there thou goest,
Thou art not like a penaunt† or a ghost,
Upon my faith thou art an officer,
Some worthy Sexton, or some Cellarer;
For by my father's soul, as to my doom,
Thou art a maltster when thou art at home;
No poor cloisterer, nor no novice,
But a governor both wily and wise,
And therewithal of brawn and of bones,
A well-faring person for the nones."

Much more "chaffing" not quite so decorous

* Wasted away. † A sinner undergoing penance.

follows, which "this worthy monk took all in patience," and presently narrates a tale founded on a work of Boccaccio,* relating the fate of certain worthies of ancient and modern history, beginning with Lucifer and Adam, and including Samson and Hercules, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and Crœsus. The poet had the good taste to make this contribution to the general entertainment unobjectionable.

The next clerical portrait is equally graphic; it is that of the Friar, a representative of the later mendicant orders, the members of which, in consequence of their multitude, activity, and alleged irregularities, had, as we have already shown, become obnoxious to both churchmen and schoolmen:—

"A Frere there was, a wanton and a merry,
A limitour,† a full solemn man,
In all the orders four is none that can
So much of dalliance and fair language.
He had i-made many a fair marriage
Of young women, at his own cost.
Unto his order he was a noble post,
Full well beloved and familiar was he
With frankleyns over all in his country.
And eke with worthy women of the town,
For he had power of confession,
As said himself, more than a curate.
For of his order he was licentiate.
Full weekly heard he confession,
And pleasant was his absolution:
He was an easy man to give penance,
There as he wist to have a good pittance."

There was much scandal afloat respecting the

* "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium."

† One licensed to beg in a certain district.

facility with which fair penitents received pardon for serious transgressions. The action of "the limitour" was quite as severely reprobated :—

"For unto a poor order for to give,
Is sign that a man is well i-schreve;
For if he give, he durst make avaunt,
He wist that a man was repentant.
For many a man so hard is of his heart,
He may not weep though him sore smart;
Therefore instead of weeping and prayers,
Men mostly give silver to the poor freres."

Mendicancy was not their only resource; they came provided with useful articles, and made their company acceptable by the display of certain favourite accomplishments.

"His tippet was aye farsed full of knives,
And pins for to give fair wives,
And certain he had a merry note,
Well could he sing and play on the rote.
Of yeddings* he bare utterly the price,
His neck white was as the fleur-de-lys;
Thereto he strong was as a champion,
He knew well the taverns in every town,
And every ostler or gay tapster,
But then a lazar or a beggar,
For unto such a worthy man as he,
Accorded not, as by his faculty,
To have with such lazars acquaintance,
It is not honest, it may not avaunce,
For to deal with such poraile,
But all with rich and sellers of victual."

This is, of course, an intimation that the professional mendicant scorned the genuine poor and sick, and cared only to associate with people who had something to give. The satirist adds :—

* Gossipings on festival occasions.

"And over all, ther any profit should arise,
Courteous he was, and low of service.
There was no man no where so virtuous,
He was the best beggar in all his house.
For, though a widow had but one shoe,
So pleasant was his *In principio*,
Yet would he have a farthing ere he went.
His purchase was better than his rent,
And rage he could and play as a whelp,
In love days there could he much help.
For there was he not like a cloisterer,
With a threadbare cope, or a poor scholar,
But he was like a master or a pope.
Of double worsted was his semi-cope,
That rounded was, as a bell out of press,
Somewhat he lisped for wantonness,
To make his English sweet upon his tongue.
And in his harping, when that he had sung,
His eyes twinkled in his head aright,
As do the stars in the frosty night."

Such was the priest of the humbler orders of English society, and such the arts by which he made himself popular in their households.

The narrative contributed by the Friar is exactly what might be anticipated from so doubtful a character, and is founded on a story familiar in the cloister.*

We are able to add other agents employed in working out the objectionable system. The first had to summon delinquents to the ecclesiastical courts, and is thus portrayed:—

"A sumpnour was there with us in that place,
That had a fire-red cherubimic face,

* "De Advocato et Diabolo," to be found in the "Promptuarium Exemplorum." Wright, "Selection of Latin Stories."

For sawceflem* he was, with eyes narrow,
As hot he was and lecherous as a sparrow.
With skulled-brows black and piled beard,
Of his visage children were sore afeard."

His countenance is further described as covered with unseemly disfigurements that no medicine could remove.

"Well loved he garlick, onions, and eke leeks,
And for to drink, strong wine red as blood,
Then would he speak and cry as he were wood.
And when that he well drunken had the wine,
Then would he speak no word but Latin;
A few terms had he—two or three
That he had learnt out of some decree.
No wonder is, he heard it all the day,
And eke ye know well how that a jay,
Can chepe 'Watt' as well as can the pope."

He possesses other characteristics—is a good fellow of an extremely bad sort, and in the employ of the Church helped materially to bring that institution into odium. Between him and the Friar there is much ill-feeling, which they betray not only in their conversation but in the tales they narrate. That of the "Friar" having been greatly at the expense of the Sumpnour, the latter follows with one that pays back his obligations with interest. It is an extraordinary illustration of the feeling excited against the mendicant orders, but is too coarse to be described. Some passages, showing how the members of his order gained influence, deserve transcription.

"And when this frere had said all his intent,
With *qui cum patre* forth his way he went.

* Pimpled.

When folk in church had given him what them lest,
He went his way, no longer would he rest;
With scrip and spiked staff, y-tookes high,
In every house he gan to pore and pry,
And begged meat and cheese, or else corn.
His fellow had a staff tipped with horn,
A pair of tables all of ivory,
And a pointed and polished fetisly,
And wrote the names always as he stood,
Of all folk that gave him any good,
Ascance that he would for him pray.
'Give us a bushel wheat, or malt, or rye,
A God's kichil,* or a trip of cheese,
A God's halfpenny, or a mass penny,
Or give us some of your brawn, if ye have any,
A dagoun† of your blanket, leave dame,
Our sister dear—lo! here I write your name—
Bacon or beef, or such things as we find.'"

The skilful mendicant presently addresses himself to the master of the house, who is supposed to be dying.‡

"'O, dear master!' quoth the sick man,
How have ye fared since March began,
I saw you not this fortnight or more.'
'God wot!' quoth he, 'laboured I have full sore,
And specially for thy salvation
Have I said many a precious orison,
And for my other friends, God them bless!
I have to-day been to your church at mass,
And said a sermon after my simple wit,
Nought all after the text of holy writ.
For it is hard for you, as I suppose,
And therefore will I teach you aye the glose.

---

* A small cake. † A strip.

‡ The eagerness with which some overzealous members of religious houses sought the deathbeds of penitents produced, in the reign of Richard II., the statute of Mortmain.

Glosing is a full glorious thing certain,
For letter sleth* so as we clerks sayn.'"

Presently the dame enters, then the holy man's gallantry is displayed after this fashion:—

"'Eh, master, welcome by St. Johan,'
Saith the wife, 'how fare ye heartily?'
The frere ariseth up full courteously,
And her embraceth in his arms narrow,
And kissed her sweet, and chirpeth as a sparrow
With his lips. 'Dame,' quoth he, 'right well,
As he that is your-servant every del,
Thanked be God that you gave soul and life,
Yet saw I not this day so fair a wife,
In all the church, God so save me.'"

But the crying evil of the papal system was the occupation of another of the pilgrims, which is thus introduced:—

"With him there rode a gentle Pardoner,
That straight was come from the Court of Rome.
Full loud he sung 'Come hither love to me.'
This Pardoner had hair as yellow as wax,
But smooth it hung as doth a strike of flax."

He is further described as wearing an abundance of these flaxen locks; and as possessing eyes that glared like a hare.

"A vernicle† had he sown in his cap,
His wallet lay before him in his lap,
Brought full of pardons come from Rome all hot.
A voice he had as small as any goat,
No heard he * * ..
But of his craft from Berwick unto Ware."

---

* Skill in literature.

† A miniature of the miraculous handkerchief of Veronica, showing that he had been on a pilgrimage to Rome.

Nor was there such another Pardoner,
For in his mail he had a pilwebeen,*
Which that he said was Our Lady's veil.
He said he had a gobbet of the sail,
That St. Peter had when that he went,
Upon the sea till Jesus Christ him hent.
He had a cross of latten full of stones,
And in a glass he had pig's bones.
But with these relics when that he found
A poor Parson dwelling upon land.
Upon a day he got him more money,
Than that the Parson got in months tweye.
And thus with feigned flattery and gapes,
He made the Parson and the people his apes."

Nevertheless he was not without some creditable recommendations.

"But truly to tell at the last,
He was in church a noble ecclesiast.
Well could he read a lesson or a story,
But altherbest he sung an offertory;
For well wist he when that song was sung,
He must preach and well affile his tongue.
To win silver as he right well could,
Therefore he sung full merrily and loud."

There is more than usual care displayed by the incomparable artist in this particular portrait, undoubtedly with an object. In the Prologue to "The Pardoner's Tale," that worthy is found thus describing his *modus operandi*:—

"First I pronounce whence that I come,
And then my bulls show all and some.
Our liege lord's seal upon my patent,
That shew I first my body to warrant.
That no man be so hardy, priest nor clerk,
Me to disturb of Christ's holy work.

* Pillowcase.

Bulls of Popes and of Cardinals,
Of patriarchs and of bishops I show,
And in Latin speak I words few,
To savour with my predication,
And for to steer men to devotion."

He dwells on the miraculous virtues of certain relics in his possession, averring that by the authority he possesses from the Pope, he is able with them to absolve any sinner. Then he adds:—

"By this gaud have I won every year,
A hundred marks since I was Pardoner.
I stand like a clerk in my pulpit,
And when the lewd people is down inset,
I preach as ye have heard before,
And tell them a hundred jupes more.
Then pain I me to stretch forth my neck,
And east and west upon the people I beck,
As doth a dove sitting on a barn;
My hands and my tongue go so yerne,*
That it is joy to see my business.
Of avarice and of such cursedness,
Is all my preaching, for to make them free,
To give their pans† and namely unto me,
For mine intent is nought but for to win,
And nothing for correction of sin."

The hypocrite is eloquent on the arts he uses to enrich himself, especially on the coveteousness and avarice he fosters in his own nature, while ostensibly correcting those vices in others. He declares his disgust of honest industry.

"What trow ye, whilst I may preach,
And win gold and silver for I teach,
That I will live in poverty wilfully?
Nay—nay—I thought it never truly.

* Rapidly. † Herds.

For I will preach and beg in sundry lands.
I will do no labour with my hands.
Nor make baskets and live thereby,
Because I will not beg idly.
I will no one of the Apostles counterfeit,
I will have money, wool, cheese, and wheat.
And were it given of the priest's page,
Or of the poorest widow in a village,
And should her children starve for famine.
Nay, I will drink liquor of the vine."

The Pardoner was of papal agents the most unpopular with sincere Christians whether clerical or lay; he was notoriously a rollicking, licentious, free-and-easy impostor, whose vocation was more injurious to the Papacy it supported, than all the schisms that had ever existed; in truth, it was before very long to be the provocation of the two religious revolutions that proved most formidable to the Church of Rome. We can see an object in the poet's displaying this odious character in its proper light. It is, however, singular that such a pilgrim should have related what deserves to be considered the most moral tale in the series.

It is worthy of observation that Chaucer confines his hostility to those features in the papal system that were denounced by the churchmen and scholars of his time. He mentions kindly, "That sweet priest, that goodly man, Sir Johan," who narrates "The Nonne Prestes Tale;" and when describing the shortcomings of a particular canon, the hero of "The Chanounes Yemannes Tale," he takes care to preface it with an apology.

"But worshipful canons religious,
He deemeth not that I slander your house,

Although my tale of a Canon be,
Of every order some schrewe it—Pardie!
And God forbid that all a company,
Should rue a single man's folly.
To slander you is nothing mine intent,
But to correction that is amiss—i-ment.

Probably this was introduced out of respect to a certain canon, who, as we shall presently show, obtained great celebrity as a preacher of the reform doctrines; but the poet must have been acquainted with others of the same fraternity, for he refers to more than one as being beyond all similar recluses subtle and false.

"His sleight and his infinite falseness,
There could no man write as I guess."

To render the canon's treachery more conspicuous, his victim is represented to be a clerical brother. In the tale it is asked:—

"What wist this priest with whom that he dwelt!
He of his harm coming he nothing felt.
O silly priest—O silly innocent!
With covetise anon thou shalt be blent.
O graceless, full blind is thy conceit,
Nothing art thou aware of the deceit,
Which that this fox, ischapen hath to thee,
His wily wrenches y-wis thou must not flee."

This canon is a pretender to alchemy, which, like necromancy, was much practised by members of religious fraternities; or rather they professed to be adepts, with the object of deluding the credulous, as was the case with the victim in "The Chanounes Yemannes Tale." The poet is not too severe upon these swindlers, whose tricks were notorious in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Nothing proves Chaucer's desire to confine himself to the assailable parts of a bad system than his genial treatment of the religious women who had joined the pilgrimage. Exquisite is his portrait of "The Prioress." Another nun is mentioned, but there is not a word of scandal introduced respecting either. Still more profoundly does he show his reverence for true religion, in his admirable picture of a parish priest.

"A good man was there of religion,
And was a poor parson of a town.
But rich he was of holy thought and work,
He was also a learned man—a clerk,
That Christ's gospel truly would preach,
His parishioners devoutly would he teach.
Benign he was and wondrous diligent,
And in adversity full patient.
And such he was approved oft sithes.*
Full loth was he to curse for his tithes,
But rather would he give out of doubt,
Unto his poor parishioners about.
Of his offering, and eke of his substance,
He could in little thing have sufficience.
Wide was his parish and houses far asunder,
But he no lafte, not for rain nor thunder,
In sickness nor in mischief to visit,
The poorest in his parish much and late.
Upon his feet, and in his hand a staff,
This noble example unto his sheep he gave,
That first he wrought, and after that he taught,
Out of the Gospel he the words caught,
And this figure he added it thereto,
That if gold rust, what should iron do?"

The poet in his avocations about the court had witnessed the carelessness of the clergy in their conduct. He adds:—

* Times.

"For if a priest be foul on whom we trust,
No wonder is a lewd man to rust.
And shame it is, if that a priest take keep,
A filthy shepherd and a clean sheep.
Well ought a priest ensample for to give,
By his cleanness how that his sheep should live.
He sets not his benefice to hire,
And leaves his sheep encumbered in the mire.
And run to London and St. Paul's,
To seeken him a chantry for souls.
Or with a brotherhood he withhold,
But dwells at home and keeps well his fold.
So that the wolf nor made it not miscarry—
He was a shepherd and no mercenary."

The hunters after preferment, who abandoned their parishes to throng the halls of the great, and wasted their means in the dissipations of the court, are here referred to. A few more touches and the portrait will be complete.

"And though he holy were and virtuous,
He was to sinful man nought despitous,
Nor of his speech dangerous nor digne,*
But in his teaching discreet and benign.
To draw folk to Heaven by fairness,
By good example, was his business;
But it were any person obstinate,
What so he were of high or low estate,
Him would he snib sharply for the nones.
A better priest I trow there nowhere none is,
He waited after no pomp nor reverence,
Nor maked him a spiced conscience,
But Christ's love and his Apostles twelve
He taught—and first he followed it himself."

A beau-ideal of a parish priest, and apparently drawn from life. But who was the original? An answer to this inquiry may be suggested by a

* Proud.

careful perusal of "The Personne's Tale," the last in the series,—it is written in prose. Though the source of every preceding narrative has been accurately traced, the most laborious of the poet's commentators has not succeeded in this instance. In some MSS. it has been entitled "Tractatus de Pænitentia, pro fabula, ut dicitur Rectoris;" consequently Tyrwhitt and others suspect it to be a translation. No one has hazarded a guess about the author. It is scarcely possible to peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it was written by a priest—apparently the good man of religion, of holy thought and work, who was a learned man and a clerk that truly preached Christ's Gospel; as Chaucer describes the imaginary narrator. It is unquestionably a treatise on penitence, each section having Latin headings; and the arguments proceed seriatim, as in ordinary theological disquisitions. After describing the nature of contrition, the writer indicates the sources of the seven deadly sins, commencing with pride. He denounces luxury of apparel; here, after dwelling on feminine finery, he cautiously refers to the equestrian display of ecclesiastics, reminding the reader of the humility of the Saviour of the world. Then he attacks the excesses of the table, a notorious prelatical vice.

"Pride of the table appeareth full oft, for certes rich men be cleped to feast, and poor folk be put away and rebuked. Also in excess of divers meats and drinks; and namely of such manner of baked meats and dished meats, burning of wild fire, and painted and castled with paper, and semblable waste, so that it is abusion for to think. And eke in great

preciousness of vessel, and in curiousness of vessel, and of minstrelsy, by the which a man is stirred the more to delights of luxury."

No doubt this is directed at the installation banquets. The author proceeds to state that a justifiable pride might proceed from the goods of nature, of fortune and of grace, which he thus defines:—"Certes, the goods of the body be health of the body, strength, deliverance, beauty, gentry, franchise; the goods of nature and of soul be good wit, sharp understanding, subtle energy, natural virtue, good memory; the goods of fortune, riches, high degree of lordship, and praising of the people; the goods of grace be science, power to suffer spiritual travail, benignity, virtuous contemplation, withstanding of temptation, and similar things."

He who prides himself on their possession is described as an outrageous fool, for no dependence can be placed upon them; and the least reliable of all is popularity. The remedy for pride is stated to be humility—of the heart, of the mouth, and of works—each of which is scholastically subdivided. The author next inveighs against the sin of envy, which he pronounces to be in opposition to all virtue and goodness, and as inducing to every kind of backbiting and social malignity—the only remedy for which, he says, is the love of God.

The next sin is wrath, which produces bloodthirstiness and homicide, false swearing, and the use of profane oaths, as well as recourse to the black art, to falsehood, flattery, cursing, chiding, wicked counsel, sowing of discord, and double-facedness. Of wrath the proper remedies are represented to be

patience and good-nature. In the same manner the author treats of other sins and their remedies—such as discontent, covetousness, gluttony, drunkenness, and adultery. Throughout this essay there is no reference to the Pope or the cardinals, nor to any of the salient features of the papal system, unless we accept as such the denunciation of luxury already noticed. Had this been the composition of any zealous Roman Catholic, references to Rome would be matters of course. We therefore suggest that it is the production of a religious reformer, advocating the new opinions that aimed at simplicity of worship and independence of papal rule.

During the third quarter of the fourteenth century, Chaucer was actively employed by Edward III. at home and abroad; and a sister of the lady he married, who was Philippa, the queen's namesake, became the wife of the queen's son, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. A religious movement was then spreading from the universities to the court, and the duke was one of the most active of its supporters. It has been said that the poet had been a pupil of Wickliffe. Was the latter, while incumbent of Lutterworth, the original of the masterly portrait of the "poor parson of a town"? The great reformer was a model of virtue as well as of learning; moreover was remarkable for the humble Christian characteristics on which the poet dwells with such affectionate earnestness. If Chaucer began the "Canterbury Tales" at any part of this period, there is no obstacle in the way of believing that Wickliffe sat for "the Personne's" portrait. The next question for consideration is, was he the

author of the anonymous Latin treatise on penitence with which the pilgrimage concludes. The ideas expressed there are similar to those attributed to him and his coadjutors; moreover, there is the marked absence in it of dependence on Rome. The only objection to this conjecture is the prayer with which "The Personne's Tale" terminates; but this the clerical copyist may have added as a proper conclusion of a work that contained many exceptionable passages.

It is true that in the "Canterbury Tales" there are references to events that occurred in 1386, and that Wickliffe died two years before this; but the composition of the several narratives is evidently of different dates, and there is every reason for believing that the work had a much earlier commencement. The poet had been employed on foreign service from 1370 to 1374, and again in 1377–8, 9; in the autumn of the year 1386 he was elected a knight of the shire; and in the December following received his first dismissal from his employments—in which he was reinstated three years afterwards. His was a busy life, and he could only devote himself to poetry when he could find leisure. Under such circumstances it is not improbable that he wrote the several tales at distant intervals, subsequently connecting them together.

But we wish to suggest the probability of a common action on the part of Wickliffe and Chaucer in antagonism to Roman abuses; that while the parson of Lutterworth should preach and write in favour of a reformation, the court poet should hold up to ridicule and execration the more odious

features of the Papacy requiring reform. Hence the offensive portraits of the friar, the pardoner, the sumpnour, and the canon; hence also the well-marked contrast in the parish priest.

During the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and the first quarter of its successor, these attacks on the obnoxious system obtained wide circulation. Chaucer's MS. of the "Canterbury Tales" was multiplied, and his admirers largely increased. The impression his pictures of clerical life created could not but have materially strengthened the movement in favour of a reformation. There were other influences at work, both at home and abroad, that increased this anti-papal feeling.

Ever since Roger Bacon in his great work * had advocated free inquiry in the investigation of sacred truths, and affirmed that all the knowledge necessary for the right apprehension of the relations of life and of science might be found in the Scriptures, enterprising religious students had been searching with more or less freedom into the known sources of truth, and the New Testament was becoming more and more a resource, a consolation, and an authority. The illustrious Franciscan was a reformer, like his patron Bishop Grosstête. He had desired a revival of primitive Christianity; he had advocated a return to the government of the saints; moreover, he had insisted that all existing social evils could fairly be traced to ignorance of the word of God.

Alexander Hales, "the Irrefragable Doctor,"

* "Opus Majus," ad Clementem Quartum, Pontif. Rom. Primum edidit S. Jebb, M.D., 1733.

another great thinker of extraordinary scholastic influence, was a reformer in a different direction. He caused the theological student to look into the inner nature of man. He defined the operations of divine grace as coming direct from God, and the relation of the creature and the Creator, as having existed from the commencement of being—a love of God having been planted in human nature as a natural instinct, to be perfected into a love of God that shall be superior to every consideration of self.* In this reasoning there is no indication of Church principles. Such an example was not likely to pass unnoticed in the schools, where a disposition to question the philosophy as well as the theology of Rome had long existed.

The universities of Paris and of Oxford grew bolder in their investigations of spiritual things, and the authority of the Church of Rome became weaker and weaker, as the defects of the papal system were made more glaring. At last the existence of three rival pontiffs having no special qualification for the exalted office, and the notorious venality of the pontifical government, brought schoolmen to the adoption of views that favoured a thorough reformation. The force of public opinion expressed in such important channels reached churchmen, and they, recognizing the idea that something must be done in the way of church reform, called a general council at Pisa; which did nothing except making it more clear that such reformation had become imperative.

Gerson, the able chancellor of the university of Paris, at this council denounced the condition of the

* "Summa Theologiæ quadripartitæ," 1481.

great ecclesiastical institution, including popes, prelates, and monks, as intolerably immoral and corrupt.

The desired reformation was left to be arranged by another general council. All that the council of Pisa did was, at the instigation of one of the worst members of the Sacred College, Cardinal Balthasa Cossa, papal legate at Bologna, to elect a new pope; and he was Peter Philargi, archbishop of Milan (Alexander V.). His pontificate was very brief, and his unworthy friend then contrived to fill the vacancy with the title of John XXIII. This pope, who wanted reformation more than anything at Rome, absolutely called a council to assemble in the Holy City, with the avowed object of reforming the Church. It never was intended to do anything. A few prelates met in the year 1412, and followed the precedent of the council of Pisa, in separating without the slightest result.

An event happened at this period which created much comment in the court of Rome. The Pontiff was officiating in the basilica of St. Peter, when an owl flew into the chapel while the choir were chanting "Veni Creator Spiritus." Pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, and deacons were alike alarmed by the unwelcome visitor. It was divested of its classic character; the influence of Minerva was not expected where so infamous a man flourished as the existing visible head of apostolic Christianity, and the symbol of wisdom was regarded as the bird of ill omen—the emblem of darkness, ruin, and desolation. And so Pope John left the profaned chapel with an impression that something decidedly unpleasant to him was looming in the distance.

This pontiff could not fail to recognize the signs of the times as being antagonistic to the Papacy, especially the declarations of public opinion expressed at the principal seats of learning in Europe. He professed himself in favour of a reform of the Church; but his reform council at Rome was a delusion, if not a snare.* His policy was shown in detaching Pierre d'Ailly, archbishop of Cambray, the friend and instructor of Chancellor Gerson, from the reform party, by making him a cardinal; a policy tried with success when the same movement displayed itself in England's great school of learning. Gerson, however, was not won over, nor was his master; and, before the king of France and a distinguished audience at Paris, he developed his ideas for a complete ecclesiastical reformation. The prominent feature in it appears to have been the union of the Greek and Latin churches. Hitherto, Parisian theology had kept much nearer the Roman model than the English, and had sanctioned no fundamental change in the existing institution. But it was soon to adopt a bolder line. It was now that Cardinal d'Ailly addressed a letter to his former pupil on the difficulties that lay in the way of a reformation of the Church by the agency of a general council, in which he pointed out the Sacred College as the real obstruction to the desired change, the cardinals having the election of the Pope entirely in

* Not more so than were subsequent general councils assembled with the same avowed object—to wit, Constance and Basle—where many sessions were passed in proving that the great officers of the Church of Rome were determined to maintain the *status quo*.

their hands.* He evidently had no opinion of such interposition. Probably the communication was written at the suggestion of the alarmed Pontiff, to discourage any further attempt at ecclesiastical legislation.

The chancellor replied with an elaborate dissertation, describing a method by which the unity of the Church might be restored, and a reformation produced by a general council. He disposes one by one of the difficulties suggested by his old teacher; and even ventures to suggest a summary mode of dealing with an unsatisfactory pontiff, with, it must be admitted, not an atom of respect for the presumed sanctity of the pontifical office.

"Will it be asserted," he inquires, "that a pope whose father and grandfather could scarcely obtain beans sufficient to satisfy their hunger, and was merely the offspring of some Venetian fisherman, ought to be permitted to maintain the pontifical dignity, to the injury of the entire ecclesiastical community, including numerous princes and prelates?"†

Having asked this pregnant question, he boldly proceeds: "Behold, the Pope is a man, the son of a man—earth from earth—a sinner, and liable to sin; the offspring of a poor peasant a short time before he was elevated to the pontifical chair. Does he, in consequence, become sinless as a saint, without repentance, without confession, without contrition? Who made him a saint? Not the Holy Ghost; for it is not attracted by social elevation, but by the

* "De Difficultate Reformationis in Concilio Universali," Opp. Gerson, ii. 867.

† "De Modis Uniendi ac Reformandi Ecclesiam," 162.

presence of God's love and His grace: nor is he made so by virtue of his office; for it may be exercised by bad men as well as good."*

He wrote much more to the same purpose; particularly declaring that the Pontiff was as liable to sin as ordinary men, as well as that the conduct of the prelates and priests of his day was notoriously secular and carnal. He suggested the surrender of the pontifical dignity by the Roman Pope and the disposal of his rivals, and asserted that obedience to such disturbers of the Church was grievous sin. Then he proceeded to advise their expulsion, either by force, by persuasion, by bribery, or by craft.

There was a marked advance made in religious opinion when the strong-minded chancellor avowed that the faith of Christians did not rest upon a pope, who was merely an individual, liable to error; and referred to the numerous pontiffs who had robbed the Church, plundered the monasteries, and invented a thousand plans of bestowing benefices for money; drawing the inevitable conclusion from such premises that it would be difficult to find any one capable of giving up so prodigious a source of profit for the benefit of the community.

Gerson then suggested that the proposed reformation council should be convoked by the Emperor, to avoid the dreaded papal influence, and dilated on the arbitrary deviations from the enactments of former councils, and on the evils produced during the papal rule at Avignon by the extortions of the cardinals to maintain the regal state in which they lived—a mode of supply which he avows they had had

* "De Modis Uniendi ac Reformandi Ecclesiam," 167.

recourse to, even to a greater extent, at the council of Pisa. He adds, in the same uncompromising spirit: "Because our prelates are dumb dogs, such constitutions have been permitted to exercise the authority of laws, to the production of frightful evils, especially through the dependants of Princes of the Church, who, if they were not assassins, were illiterate cooks, mule-drivers, and grooms, who could secure canonries denied to qualified persons." Moreover, he replied to the question of Cardinal d'Ailly as to what could be done with the Pope and cardinals if they set the council at defiance: "As those priests of Baal who devoured the offerings, while assuring their worshippers that the god had consumed them, and were destroyed when the cheat came to be discovered, so ought," he declares, "it to be with those priests who equally lied to God in profiting by fallacious indulgences, dispensations, and blessings."

He expresses his conviction that if, by their extirpation, such a reform were not effected in the head and members of the Church, the Pope and cardinals would accumulate all the property held by Christians. Then he denounces the robberies of the papal chancery, where thousands of officials flourished for the increase of gain, but not one for the promotion of virtue.

"There," he adds, "the daily conversation is of castles, of territory, of warlike weapons, and of gold —rarely, if ever, of chastity, charity, righteousness, faith, or holy behaviour; so that the original spiritual court has become secular, demoniacal, and despotic beyond all example." He next attacks

"the pride that apes humility" of the pontifical profession of being "servant of the servants of God," as well as calls in question the assumed spiritual privileges of the Pope; in short, it was scarcely possible for any sectarian to have shown himself more in earnest in his advocacy of a thorough reformation. Nevertheless, the chancellor was a pillar of Gallican orthodoxy. He desired the reconstruction of the Papacy, in which neither of the existing popes nor the existing cardinals should find a place, because they were too familiar with the old abuses of the system to abandon them.* He was not a schismatic, he was not a heretic, he was not an enemy to the Church: he professed to be a zealous Roman Catholic, desirous of finding a remedy for the notorious evils which a bad system of ecclesiastical government had created throughout Christendom.

Gerson's views of church reform stirred Paris, and, as a natural consequence, agitated Oxford. Here, however, more advanced notions had been entertained for a considerable time; nevertheless, the treatise of the chancellor of the continental university did not pass unnoticed. It was something to know that the reformation of the Church had secured so distinguished an advocate; and among the divinity students with whom it circulated, its bold exposure of abuses made a lasting impression. The papal influence was generally unpopular; and, notwithstanding the claims to respect of the few Englishmen who had become Princes of the Church, the cardinals were not held in much higher respect.

* Gerson, "De Modis Uniendi," &c., 189.

The memory of Langton and of Langham remained the most precious connection of the Anglican Church with Rome; but a sense of the slight put upon the nation by the papal court's niggard disposal of its highest honours, and of the wrong done by their intolerable acquisitiveness, combated whatever regard for the institution the conduct of the English cardinals had created. The more observant could not fail to see that the Papacy had become local while still assuming to be universal; and that its action as well as its history were opposed to those pretensions to an apostolic and divine origin with which it continued to claim the devotion of Christendom.

This misgovernment had long been sufficiently plain to the great body of thinkers as well as of students in England; and we shall now proceed to show the decided line of action they adopted in the schools and in the pulpit. Chaucer's inimitable exposures did more than yeoman's service in the cause of reform, and long after his death his illustrations of the evils of the Roman institution continued to promote it.

APPENDIX.

POPE ADRIAN IV.—CARDINAL LE POULE.—BOSON BREAKSPEAR.—HEREBERT DE BOSHAM.—CONDITION OF ENGLAND.—CARDINAL LANGTON.—ANTI-POPES.

APPENDIX.

POPE ADRIAN IV.

MORONI'S estimate of the English. Pope is thus expressed:—"L' esemplare contegno della sua vita non andava disgiunto da un sottile intendimento; era fermo dell' animo, tardo ad accendersi, facile al perdono, ma la virtù che più in lui resplendeva era al certo la beneficenza e il totale disinteresse co' suoi."—"Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica," i. 103.

There are several of John of Salisbury's letters addressed to Adrian IV. Dr. Giles has printed twenty-two, with which he commences his excellent edition of the works of this celebrated English scholar and divine. He proceeds with the same correspondence, after five communications to other persons, and prints four more, the XXXVIII. being the last. (See vol. i. "Epistolæ Joannis Saresberiensis.") Among the letters of Peter of Blois there is the one from Adrian to Henry II., respecting the donation of Ireland.—"Petri Blesensis Epistolæ" (Giles), ii. 201.

Huss, the Bohemian reformer, refers to the English pope as the originator of the interdict. He certainly employed this papal weapon, and with marked success, upon the Romans; and it was one of the features in his government imitated by Becket.

CARDINAL LE POULE.

JOHN OF SALISBURY mentions "Robert le Poule" as one of the professors at Paris under whom he studied, and as a teacher to be admired as much for his rectitude as for his attainments. "Successit Robertus Pullus, quem vita pariter et scientia commendabant."—Metalogicus, "Joannes Saresberiensis," lib. ii. cap. xi.

We add another attempt to do honour to this distinguished Anglo-Norman scholar.

"Le Pape Eugène III. avait pour chancelier le Cardinal Robert Pullus,* le premier cardinal anglais que l'on connaisse. Le chancelier de l'Eglise Romaine était comme le principal ministre du Pape. Robert Pullus s'appliqua de bonne heure à l'étude des belles-lettres et des beaux arts, puis à la théologie et à l'intelligence des livres saints. L'académie d'Oxford, auparavant si célèbre dans toute l'Europe, était à la veille de sa ruine. Robert entreprit de la remettre en vigueur. Il y ouvrit des écoles publiques, enseigna lui-même les sciences gratuitement, fit venir des provinces voisines des professeurs et des disciples, en défraya une partie à ses dépens, rendit aux autres tous les services possibles, et se déclara hautement le protecteur des gens de lettres. Par sa candeur, par la beauté de son esprit, par la probité de ses mœurs, et par son savoir, il gagna l'estime et l'amitie de Henri Ier, roi d'Angleterre. L'amour des sciences et des lettres le fit passer en France. Il était à Paris en 1140, et y enseignait publiquement la théologie. Sa doctrine était saine. Saint Bernard en fut tellement satisfait, qu'il pria l'évêque de Rochester de ne plus insister sur le rappel de Pullus en Angleterre. Le Pape Innocent II. ayant connu son mérite, l'appela à Rome vers l'an 1142. Lucius II. le fit cardinal du titre de Saint Eusèbe en 1144, et chancelier de l'Eglise Romaine."

After quoting from a letter addressed to the English cardinal by Saint Bernard, on the election of Eugenius III., the writer adds:—

"Le Cardinal Robert Pullus mourut vers l'an 1150. Excellent interprète, bon théologien, éloquent orateur, il laissa quantité de monuments de son esprit et de son savoir. On connaît de lui un ouvrage intitulé 'Des Sentences,' divisé en huit parties; quatre livres sur les paroles remarquables des docteurs, un du mépris du monde, un de ses leçons, un de ses sermons et un des commentaires sur quelques Psaumes et sur l'Apocalypse; mais de tous ces écrits, le seul qui ait vu le jour est celui 'Des Sentences.' C'est un corps entier de théologie divisé en huit parties, où le savant cardinal

* In the list of chancellors given in the "Dizionario di Erudizione," &c., he is named, under the date 1145, "Roberto Bulleno Inglese, fatto cardinale da Innocenzo II. e cancelliere du Lucio II." No Englishman filled this post subsequently till the year 1763. An elaborate account of this dignity, as well as of other administrative offices in the court of Rome, may be found in Moroni.—See article "Cancelleria della S. Romana Chiesa," &c. &c.

traite solidement les principales questions qui étaient agitées à son époque, tant sur les mystères que sur les sacraments, et il les résout par l'autorité de l'Ecriture Sainte et des Pères de l'Eglise. L'université d'Oxford, dit-on, célèbre tous les ans un panégyrique en l'honneur du Cardinal Robert Pullus, son fondateur et son restaurateur, ferait bien de procurer une bonne édition de toutes ses œuvres."—Rohrbacher, "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome quinzième, p. 429.

BOSON BREAKSPEAR.

THERE is a letter from John of Salisbury to Cardinal Boso, while the latter was papal secretary, preserved in Dr. Giles's careful edition of his works—Epistola CV., i. 155, "Joannis Saresberiensis Epistolæ;" another is CCCXXI. of the same edition, i. 287, written about 1173. Moroni, "Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica," vi. 69, describes Boso as created Cardinal Deacon "da S. Angelo," by Lucius III. in 1183, and by Urban III. elevated to the higher dignity of Cardinal Priest "di S. Anastasia." He gives another biographical notice to "Brekspear Bosone," who, he states, died in 1181.

HEREBERT DE BOSHAM.

THERE can be no doubt that Herebert de Bosham lived on very confidential terms with Archbishop Becket, particularly after the latter's flight from England. His Life of the Primate not only gives remarkable evidence of this, but shows that the Pope and the king of France regarded him with favour for the proofs he had displayed of fidelity to his master. A volume of his letters is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, as well as an imperfect copy of his "De Vita S. Thomæ;" a complete one remains in the Bodleian, and, aided by an imperfect MS. at Arras, Dr. Giles produced the excellent edition of his works for the "Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." In his preface to the second volume, the learned editor denies that he was ever created a cardinal. Nevertheless, Cardella records his promotion in the year 1178.*

* Giles, "Life and Letters of Thomas Becket," 2 vols., 1846. "Herberti de Boseham," 2 vols., 1845. "Memorie Storiche," ii. 121.

De Bosham's Life of Becket is much more theological than biographical. Though eulogistic to the verge of idolatry, it is laboured throughout, and appears not to have been completed till fourteen years after the martyrdom. Of this he was not an eye-witness, as the archbishop, knowing that his zeal had rendered him obnoxious to the king's friends, had prudently sent him out of the kingdom a few days before. Dr. Giles considers that he returned and remained in England; but there is nothing in his writings that disproves the statements of other authors that he went to Rome and was rewarded in the manner related in the text. The existence of a contemporary namesake who received such distinctions, rests on as little authority. Moroni, "Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica," vi. 64, commences his biography—"Boshan Ereberto, *cardinale*." There is a letter from John of Salisbury, apparently written about 1170, to Master Herbert. Epistola CCXCVIII. in Dr. Giles's collected edition. We insert an interchange of communications between the martyr's ex-secretary and the Pontiff.

Epistola Herberti exulantis post Sancti Th. Martyrium, ad Alexandrum Papam, conquerens quod Domino suo in Gloria et Sociis in pacis solius esset in certamine.

"Quod tantæ majestatis oculis parvitas mea non minus impudenter quam irreverenter se ingeret, quæso pater, ne causemini præsumptionem quia urget pressura. Pudor sane reclamat et reverentia, sed dolor superat, cujus plerumque vis nec præstolari judicium nec temperare consilio, nec pudore frenari, nec rationi subjici solet. Vim ergo patiens, domine, ad te vocifero. Ecce enim Robertus ille in conspectu Domini venator, qui proprium patrem suum in mortem venatus est, et ipsius sanguine incrassatus, extendit adhuc rete suum ut reliquias etiam imperfecti patris congreget, et incorporetur sibi. Illos siquidem qui tam fortis athletæ prius exulis, nunc vero martyris in exilio onera tam fortiter quidem sicut mundus novit comportarunt, nunc quærit in spiritu interficere forte postea in carne perempturus. Nam qui hostes reputari noluerint, compellit ad juramenta, si licita, nos videritis. Juramenti vero forma hæc est. 'Ego enim juro domino regi Anglorum tam patri quam filio quod pacem ipsius servabo, et quod nullum detrimentum suorum regalium per me sustinebit, et quod non egrediar de terra ipsius absque ipsius licentia, neque literas ultra mare mittam,' et ut cætera taceam, quid in hoc juramento regalium nomine intelligere velit etiam tardioribus manifestum. Ad tale juramentum plerosque jam de nostris compulit: magistrum

videlicet Joannem de Saresberia, dominum Gunterium et alios. Verum si ita jurantes celsitudini vestræ in aliquo videntur excessisse, profecto non modicam habent excusationem de peccato, qui inter crudelissimas manus et in corde maris sunt inclusi. At certe longe aliud esset de parvitate mea judicium si, quod absit, proprio ductus arbitrio ita juraturus accederem; præsertim quum proxima ante excessum martyris die nobis nihil tam horrendum suspicari audentibus, volente ipso martyro Dei et jubente, una cum dilecto socio nostro magistro Alexandro, terram egressus sim et ita favens Dominus, cujus oculi semper prospiciunt super fidem, me incontaminatum huic negotio per gratiam suam reservavit, nec exilii mei gloriam ignominiæ infici nævo sustinuit.

"Sed quid nomino exilii gloriam qui martyrii palmam videre non merui. Quin potius torcular calcavit solus et de gentibus non erat nisi cum eo. Hinc est quod quoties ipsius ante mentis meæ oculos exilium pono, meum toties exilium plango. Vereor nempe cum forti illo athleta frustra me in tentationibus suis laborasse, perseverasse non dico, quam consummationi interesse fuerit denegatum. Unde et mihi nunc est duplex incendium tribulationis. Me quippe lugeo discessisse, decessisse illum. Verum in discessu meo video infirmitati meæ Domino miserante prospectum, qui in tanto malorum metu fugissem forsitan et abscondissem me ab eo. Sed nec etiam sic consolationem recipio, quin potius ingemisco, sicut homo sine adjutorio. En enim imbecillitatis meæ innixus baculo currebam ut potui, cum Isachar illo forti pro viribus portabam onera et cum altero Jeroboal communia Israelis pericula prout datum erat propulsabam. Sed præcessit velocior et fortior jam bravium apprehendit: ego vero jam sensim in cursu deficio utpote imbecillitatis meæ baculo destitutus. Gemo nunc sub sarcina illius humeris subductis, qui totus totum portabat, et qui mihi totum erat. Quæso, pater sancte, ne indignetur majestas tanta, et paululum ante ipsam tribulationem meam pronuncio. Pudet certe præsumptionis quam altum sapere videor et audere plus forte quam expediat. Audeo sane pietatis memor, immemor majestatis. Præterea doloris vis educit spiritum meum et alternatim nunc verborum nunc lacrimarum fila extrahit ab invito. Exeat enim foras necesse est ignis flamma quo nitus triste pectus adurit et interiora depascitur. Exeat sane necesse est ad oculos, tam pii patris qui sciens quam injustus sit dolor meus planctum humanius æstimet, dulcius consoletur. Recordabitur forte filii sui domini mei et mihi multus erit ad miserandum nunc præsertim cum ipso vero Christi martyre post pugnam tam gloriose trium-

phante, in me, adhuc ipsum affligeant in me, &c., &c. Oro igitur clementissime pater, oro tam literis quam lacrimis et a tanta majestate non quidem tam temere, quam timide supplico, quid liceat expediatve parvitati meæ significari non indignemini, ne si forte diutius exulare contigerit errori id verius quam prudentiæ, et superbiæ potius quam justitiæ imputetur, &c. Super hoc ipso etiam adjectis si placet gratiarum actionibus domini Senonensi scribatis necesse est; ipsius enim caritatis viscera mihi per filii vestri vulnera patuerunt, &c. * * * Juxta quod uni ex fratribus de Pontiniaco, sicut pro certo creditur tam affectu quam habitu monacho, rubris indutus et crucem suam bajulans, sciscitanti quomodo se haberet respondit: Dic fratribus meis quod ego vici mundum, et deinde vulnerum ei monstravit cicatrices, &c." [*Sequuntur pauca de virtute miraculosa S. Thomæ, inutilia.*]

Epistola Alexandri Papæ consolatoria ad Herbertum, post Domini sui sancti Thomæ Martyrium exulantem.

" Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio magistro Herberto salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem.

" Devotionis tuæ literas paterna benignitate recepimus, et intellectis anxietatibus et angustiis molestiis et pressuris, quas æquo animo toleras, tibi tanquam devoto et speciali Ecclesiæ filio sincera mentis affectione compatimur et libenter in quibus possumus gratæ consolationis solatium impertimur. Sane quod sanctæ recordationis Thomæ quondam Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo ita constanti animo adhæsisti, ut eum in exilio suæ persequutionis nolueris dimittere, et nunc tenaciter verbo et opere memoriam ejus observes, gratum gerimus et acceptum, et devotionis tuæ constantiam in hac parte prout convenit dignis in Domino laudibus commendamus, firmum gerentes propositum et voluntatem te sicut honestum et literatum virum arctiori caritate diligere; et de incremento et utilitate tua vigili studio et sollicitudine cogitare. Unde pro statu tuo vigiles admodum et solliciti existentes, dilectis filiis nostris Alberto titulo sancti Laurentii in Lucina, et Theodwino titulo sancti Vitalis, in presbyteris cardinalibus apostolicæ sedis legatis, firmiter dedimus in mandatis, ut tibi et aliis clericis ac laicis præfati archiepiscopi gratiam et pacem regis Anglorum acquirant, et nos in terra faciant reduci et ibidem secure manere. Si autem forte secundum desiderium nostrum non potuerint apud præfatum proficere regem et tibi ejus pacem et gratiam invenire, tua intererit nobis significare, qualiter tuæ possimus provisioni commodius intendere et in quo tibi honeste

valeamus et utiliter providere. Nos enim necessitatibus tuis libenti animo intendere cupimus, et tibi tanquam speciali et devoto Ecclesiæ filio efficaciter in eo quod nos decuerit et expedire viderimus, auctore Domino, curabimus providere. Tu ergo comfortare in Domino et in eo spem tuam et fiduciam ponas, qui non derelinquit sperantes in se, sed et post nubilum faciat tranquillum et cum tentatione proventum. Datum Tusculani, VIII. alb. Julii.—Herberti de Boseham Epistolæ XXXIV. et XLI. "Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ."

CONDITION OF ENGLAND.

THE spiritual condition of the country towards the conclusion of the twelth century is graphically described by Peter of Blois while archdeacon of Bath, at the beginning of his letter to the Cardinal-Legate Octavian, written in the year 1187 :—

"Argumentum. Dolenter queritur passim indignos, sive scientiam, sive virtûtem, sive ætatem spectes, per summam ambitionem in episcopatus, aliasque dignitates irruere : obtestaturque Octavianum Apostolicæ sedis Legatum, et sua auctoritate interposita ambitiosos et simoniacos omnes ab Ecclesiæ gubernaculis arceat.

"Carissimo domino et amico Oct. S. Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali presbytero, apostolicæ sedis legato, magister P. B. Bath. Archid. salutem.

"'O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane.' O inanis gloria! O ambitio cæca! O terreni honoris inexplebilis fames! O tineæ cordium, animarum subversio, cupiditas dignitatum! Unde obrepsit hæc pestis? Unde invaluit hæc execranda præsumptio, ut indigni dignitates ambiant; et quanto minus meruerunt ascendere ad honores, tanto importunius honoribus se importent? Hodie, per fas et nefas, hodie in animæ corporisque discrimine currunt infelices ad cathedram pastoralem, nec attendunt, quod sit eis cathedra pestilentiæ, dum sibi et aliis sit occasio ruinæ. In gregibus et armentis, teste Hieronymo, aries et taurus corpore et animositate præstantior alios antecedit; homo vero bestiis omnibus bestialior, tanto indiscretius et audacius melioribus anteesse præsumit, quanto minus de virtutum titulis, aut conscientiæ sinceritate confidit. Utinam saperent, et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent, nec populi iniquitates suis excessibus aggregarent. Verba sunt

ecclesiastici: Noli quærere ab homine ducatum, neque a rege cathedram honoris. Noli quærere fieri judex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates populi. Non te immittas in populum, nec alliges tibi peccata duplicia. Qui nihil didicit, aliorum doctor efficitur, et quasi æs sonans aut cymbalum tinniens usurpat prædicantis officium, quum sit truncus inutilis et idolum mutum. Apud veteres erat conditio sapientum inæstimabiliter venerabilis, hodieque prudentia tanquam vilis et abjecta calcatur: quadam vero abominabili mutatione stultitia ponitur in sublimi," &c.

He concludes:—

"Tu igitur, amantissime pater, qui à latere summi pontificis missus es, ut legatione fungaris pro Christo, surge in extirpationem execratissimæ pestis hujus. Ecce constituit te Dominum super gentes et regna, ut evellas et destruas, ut disperdas et dissipes, ut ædifices et plantes. Accendatur et ignescat zelus tuæ auctoritatis adversus ambitionis malum, dissipa et evelle plantationes iniquas. Ædifica, et planta in ecclesia Dei tales, quos humilitas, quos innocentia, quos vita probatior et litteratura commendet; qui subjectos doceant; qui divites non palpent; pauperes non gravent; qui minas potentum non timeant; qui crimina corrigant, et marsupia non emungant; quorum sermo sit doctrina; quorum conversatio sit justitia; quorum auctoritas sit, non in habitu, non in fastu, sed in eruditione et defensione fidei; quorum vita sit publicæ commendabilis; quorum memoria in benedictione. Ad tuum, et collegæ tui ingressum quæso lætetur Ecclesia Christi, ut a simoniacis et ambitiosis oppressa, sub vestra consolatione respiret. Congaudeant clerici, et exultent populi, se hodie in vobis suscepisse cives apostolorum, et domesticos Dei: portantes pacem, et illuminantes patriam, nobis et aliis vitæ æternæ poscentes præmia, ut de labore et solicitudine vestræ legationis immarcessibilis justitiæ manipulos reportetis."—"Petri Blesensis Epistolæ," i. 84.

CARDINAL LANGTON.

Stephen Langton took a profound interest in his sainted predecessor. He not only impoverished himself by the grand ceremonial to his honour described in the text, but wrote an essay respecting it, which Dr. Giles has included in his valuable collection of biographies—"Stephani Langton, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Tractatus de Translatione Beati Thomæ"—"Patres Ecclesiæ Angli-

canæ," ii. 269. A knowledge of this devotion seems to have induced the abbot of Croyland to dedicate to the cardinal his life of Becket.

ANTIPOPES.

THE existence of sects endeavouring to be independent of Rome never was half so injurious to the Papacy as the quarrels of rival popes. The strong language some pontiffs had lavished on contumacious emperors was mild in comparison with the abuse they directed against each other. It had consequences they never anticipated. It was clear that they intended to fling dirt enough; but instead of sticking to their antagonists, it stuck to the Papacy. Christendom was invited to look on while two or more pretenders to apostolic dignity engaged in a scolding-match in which each strove to make out the other to be pre-eminently vile and criminal. Unfortunately, more than one holder of the papal office disgraced it by his mode of life, and a conflict of pontifical denunciations could scarcely fail to leave on the lookers-on an impression anything but favourable to the combatants.

It chanced that when the minds of zealous Christians had become sensible of the evils of the existing Church government, these melancholy evidences of the viciousness of the system were most prominent. This was peculiarly the case during the progress of the pre-Lutheran reformation. There were again two "vicars of Christ," two "vicegerents of God," two "fathers of fathers"—both venerable, upwards of seventy, and unquestionably, according to their own evidence, both unrivalled impostors. At last a sense of the injury they were doing the Church by their unworthiness, so profoundly impressed the College of Cardinals and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, that they had recourse to the extreme measure of calling a general council for the purpose of insuring their deposition — thus raising a power superior to that of the Pope.

In the course of this procedure, two significant facts are made manifest—I. The necessity of a reformation of the papal office, proved by the misconduct of its chief administrator. II. The hollowness of papal infallibility, declared by the electoral body with whom the pontifical election resided. Nothing can be clearer than the deduction that under divine direction the presiding head of the Church, and those next to him in dignity and

influence, were helping, if not inaugurating, a reformatory movement.

The reader in the course of the ensuing narratives will see how this movement progressed in England; but though it is anticipating to enter upon those great ecclesiastical efforts at legislation that distinguished the first decade of the fifteenth century, we cannot help referring to them here as the effect of causes noticed in the preceding pages.

The cardinals (who appear to have been nearly all Italians) published their opinions of Gregory XIII. and Benedict XIII. in very plain language as perjurers, heretics, drunkards, madmen—everything that was false and depraved; and summoned them to appear for judgment before a general council. It met at Pisa, and consisted of four patriarchs, fourteen archbishops, and a hundred and two bishops or their procurators, eighty-seven abbots, forty-one priors; besides delegates from all the principal universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, a hundred chapters, three hundred doctors, as well as ambassadors from several of the principal sovereigns in Europe. There was a noble embassy from England, representing the two primates, and several bishops, one of whom bore the honoured name of Hallam.

Their first meeting was on Lady-day, 1409, and on the 5th of June their judgment was pronounced against pope and antipope for enormous iniquities and crimes. They were deposed, and the Papacy declared vacant. Twenty-six cardinals were occupied eleven days in the election of a successor, and it fell upon a cardinal who was a member of the Friars Minors—the mendicants that had excited so large an amount of ill-feeling in France and England. Nevertheless the great object of the new pontiff was to aggrandise the order; and of course his favour increased the detestation in which they were held by the regular clergy.—L'Enfant, "Concile de Pisa," i. 239.

END OF VOLUME I.

WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018